THE INTERNATIONAL VALUE OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS

W. YOUNGER

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THE TWENTY-FOURTH HARTLEY LECTURE:

The International Value of Christian Ethics.

BY
REV. WILLIAM YOUNGER.

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To My Wife

My Faithful Companion

in

Twenty-six Years

of

Happy, Married Life

PREFACE

I HAVE written this Lecture in the hope that it will be helpful to those who desire to know what is the relation of the Gospel to nationalism and internationalism. The world to-day urgently needs the redemptive and informed guidance of Christian men and women. I believe with all my heart that Jesus Christ in the glory of His Cross and Resurrection and in His directive influence in all the affairs of human society is the only hope of the world. But Christian leaders and the rank and file of the followers of Christ should not depend upon mere emotionalism if they are to do Christ's will. We must unite the message of Christ with the experience of Christ.

I have kept in view the usefulness of the lecture for our people, and have therefore presented the subject in a way which avoids as far as possible the use of technical terms. I am anxious that the

Methodist people should play a great part in the application of Christian principles to the problems of our age.

The book has been written amid the incessant demands of my pulpit and public work, and any evidences of haste in it must be put down to the limitations of time and strength.

I am grateful to my Church and Circuit in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who have been unfailing in their generous judgment, and in their prayers for my work. I am grateful, too, to the Church which called me through its Annual Conference into the ministry, and gave me the privilege of uttering the evangel of my Lord. I am grateful, further, to Dr. Peake for the inspiration and assistance which he gave in my college days, and for his counsel in the years between.

WILLIAM YOUNGER.

40 Grosvenor Place,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne. *May*, 1924.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOURCE OF ETHICAL AUTHORITY 1

CHAPTER II.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND INTERNATIONALISM . . 38

i. The Message of the Pre-prophetic Period

ii. The Message of the Prophets

CHAPTER III.

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND INTERNATIONALISM . . 70

i. The Ethical Message of Jesus

ii. The Ethical Message of the Apostles

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHRISTIAN ETHIC AND THE CHRISTIAN CENTURIES . 118

CHAPTER V.

THE CHRISTIAN ETHIC IN MODERN LIFE 144

i. In Nationalism

ii. In Individualism

iii. In Internationalism

THE INTERNATIONAL VALUE OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

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CHAPTER I.

The Source of Ethical Authority.

THE present condition of the world forces those who are interested in the moral welfare of humanity to face a serious and menacing situation. The Great War was not a mere incident in the evolution of man. It was a criminal and unprecedented waste of men, money, and movements. Ten millions of men sleep beneath the soil of three continents as the result of it. They include a vast number who would have been distinguished leaders of thought and reform. The moral forces of the world are paralysed for a generation. The war was a decisive, profound and destructive inrush of the forces of anarchy, irresponsible autocracy, bitter and ambitious racialism, and of political and scientific, industrial and human

tendencies divorced from moral principles and moral considerations. It was the flowering period of growths whose aroma almost poisoned the world. It revealed with what merciless and irresistible logic unmoral and immoral ideas work when incarnate in accommodating personalities and representative institutions. The war was also the climax of the deliberate policies of peoples and nations who lacked an adequate sense of international moral obligations.

The war, let us hope, has destroyed the arm-chair view of human history as an ordered and almost inevitable upward movement, through pain and confusion, to a worthy though distant goal. In 1893 Alexandre Dumas said, "I know not if it be because I shall soon leave this earth and the rays that are already reaching me from below the horizon have disturbed my sight, but I believe our world is about to begin to realize the words Love one another . . . . The spiritual movement one recognizes on all sides. Mankind is about to be seized with a frenzy of love. This will not, of course, happen smoothly or all at once; it will involve misunderstandings—even sanguinary ones, perchance—so trained have we been to hatred. But it is evident the great law of brotherhood must be accomplished some day, and I am convinced that the time is commencing when our desire for its accomplishment will become irresistible." Dumas did not perceive at the time the movement of ideas, a blend of Hegel, Nietzsche and Machiavelli, which was to culminate in an

unprecedented disaster. Nor did he realize that "sanguinary" "misunderstandings" is a totally inadequate conception of the sinister personal and corporate forces which must be reckoned with if "the great law of brotherhood" is to be universal and permanent. The fact that our recent civilization has witnessed the almost complete destruction of its economic and political foundations, and thereby created the most baffling problems in the reconstruction of one continent and a considerable part of two others, that statesmanship has ever faced has shattered for ethical minds the shallow thinking which trusts only to the faith "that nothing walks with aimless feet," and that somehow "good will be the final of ill." Browning's belief that "God's in His heaven" and "all's right with the world" is not an adequate creed for serious minds engaged in the cause of the moral progress of the world. A very great deal is wrong with the world, and existing wrongness cannot be right even now in His judgment of man.

The boasted edifice of the Western world has been broken, and even its foundations in many parts have been built upon the sands of materialism, an insular and immoral racialism, jealousy, fear and vaulting ambition. We have lived in a world in which, in the words of Eucken, civilization has almost "ceased to give an account of itself," and which also gives point to the conviction of Carpenter that civilization is like measles through which an infant world must pass as it moves to matured,

controlled, ordered and healthy life. Europe has recently provided rich suggestions for the cynical view of the Cotter Morrison school of thought which regards progress as the acquisition by an organism of the qualities that ensure its destruction. H. G. Wells has raised some challenging questions which cannot be ignored by the serious student of life and the lover of men. He says, "The great war has revealed an accumulation of destructive forces in our outwardly prosperous society, of which few of us had dreamt; and it has also revealed a profound incapacity to deal with and restrain these forces. The two years of want, confusion and indecision that have followed the great war in Europe and Asia, and the uncertainties that have disturbed life even in the comparatively untouched American world, seem to many watchful minds even more ominous to our social order than the war itself. What is happening to our race? they ask. . . . . Has the cycle of prosperity and progress closed? To what will this staggering and blundering, the hatreds and mischievous adventures of the present time, bring us? Is the world in the opening of long centuries of confusion and disaster such as ended the Western Roman Empire in Europe or the Han prosperity in China? And if so, will the debacle extend to America? Or is the American (and Pacific?) system still sufficiently removed and still sufficiently autonomous to maintain a progressive movement of its own if the Old World collapse."[1]

[1] *The Salvaging of Civilization*, pp. 1, 2.

One of the main problems for the Christian student, and, indeed, of every expositor of the meaning of life is that of the way out of the tragedy, and the ultimate effective eradication of the causes of international mischief and ruin. No solution can be possible until we have discovered the source and nature of the final moral and spiritual authority for the individual and for the race, and to which authority all men and peoples must look for guidance and government. There cannot be two moral codes in the universe. The demands of reason and redemption postulate a fundamental and timeless ethic.

A man or a community or a civilization will be conditioned by the nature of the authority which regulates, dominates and inspires thought and action. What a man *wills* to submit to, and the range of strength and the moral quality which spring from his intelligent and deliberate loyalty will fix the value of the contribution which he makes to the life of the world. And similarly the character and contribution of a nation to the cause of progress is primarily a question of authority.

We have reached a stage in the life of the race when a policy of drift on this vital matter of the ethical authority and government of nations must be arrested. It is urgent because we are in the initial stages of serious practical efforts to lay broad and deep the institutional foundation of an actual international order. There is in the world a vast unvoiced longing for the definite proofs of

it. The very hesitancy of faith and versatility of suggestions on concrete methods of world government are promising. It is largely a pioneer movement though the dream of it is historical. Whether it will proceed on the lines of Washington or Geneva, or both ; whether it will be expressed in an International Court of Justice as preferable to a framework of society based only on friendship, time alone will show. The dream preceded the getting to work. Plato was the first literary designer of a human republic, though he believed its complete realisation would require another order of life out of sight. He was thinking of what an ideal Greek City-State ought to be. He says, " Our city is founded on words ; for it exists nowhere, I think, on earth. But the ideal commonwealth does exist in the spiritual world of eternal Ideas ; it already exists." Plato has had a fruitful succession of prophets and architects, including, in these recent years, Morris, who travelled on a road to Nowhere, and H. G. Wells. The years since 1918 have witnessed the new venture to organize the conscience of the world by the forces of reason and love.

These landmarks of Geneva and Washington remind Christian thinkers that constitutions and experiments for the formation of a world order cannot issue in permanent international security and goodwill unless statesmen and peoples can agree in their recognition of the main source or sources of timeless authority. As they enter upon a course of growing amity and mutual trust there

must be the assurance of adequate international direction.

Where, then, is the norm and permanent moral guide of human society? It is certainly not in human personality. Moral values must derive their significance from some higher source. Man's limitations, his historic gropings, his painful experiments in the process of ethical growth, and his national and racial contradictions in the interpretation and application of moral principles render him an unsafe final court of appeal. He may be a being of large discourse, looking before and after, but his historic and prophetic outlook has often been unreliable. Pfleiderer says, "In the capability of and the impulse to the formation of Ideals we may discern the distinguishing essential mark of man," but the capacity to form ideals does not constitute the right to impose a moral order in the government of man unless the suggested ethical obligation is rooted in a more fundamental authority. It is true that, as Hobson says, "the function of reason is to seek to obtain satisfaction of the deeper craving for order by reconstructing the purely empirical order in terms of a single connected harmonious system," and this rational unity of the universe carries conviction to the mind when life is understood as moving to a worthy teleological goal. But a satisfactory philosophy is not the only basis for experience and communal activity. The human soul must find its guiding star for duty in a Source which is greater than itself.

It is this imperative demand for an authority, objective and transcendant, which renders inadequate the historic attempts to create or discover subjective standards of morality. Utilitarianism provides an incomplete and incorrect basis of moral distinction and moral values. It teaches that we are guided in our judgment by the consideration of the quest for pleasure and the avoidance of pain, and that in the larger sphere of communal obligations we shape our programme and duty by the law of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. This explanation of human activity fails to account for much of the best work of the world. Great biographies teem with illustrations of tasks undertaken in the sure conviction that suffering, with no material reward, was the right way to live. Merely emotional considerations cannot explain the life of the historic reformers, the missionary and the nameless hosts of brave mothers and toilers. Dante, Savonarola and Mazzini would never have done their work if they had been inspired by the utilitarian view of life. The philosophy of self-interest as the guiding principle of action not only destroys altruism as one of the formative incentives of beneficent achievements; it heads straight for anarchy in the development and expression of personality. The use of the ego is conditioned, on this view of man, by a constant idea of what ministers to one's pleasure.

The defective interpretation of this view of ethics is made more clear when the corporate aspect of it is examined. When we act from the motive

of the greatest happiness of the greatest number we must be careful to put into the word happiness its full ethical significance. John Stuart Mill held that "actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure and the absence of pain; by unhappiness pain and the privation of pleasure."[1] But, as Fairbairn argues, the terms pleasure and happiness have little meaning until their exact significance is defined, and until three questions have been settled, viz., "What is happiness? What sort of happiness? Whose happiness?" The attempt to answer these questions rules utilitarianism out as a universal standard of moral action. Besides, as Fairbairn points out, a man may go to the stake for what he regards as the ultimate good of humanity. Lord Morley regarded a great saying of Voltaire as of great value. "In order to love men you must expect little from them." Jesus was right when He opposed the Judaistic system, though His contemporaries regarded Him as the subject of demoniacal government. On the other hand, de Valera thinks that he is promoting the greatest happiness of Ireland by the advocacy of a policy which the most trusted leaders of that nation look upon as a foolhardy and reactionary adventure. Napoleon said at St. Helena that he aimed during his life at the creation of a commonwealth of European peoples. But such morality is grounded neither in reason nor in

[1] Mill, "Utilitarianism," *Ethics*, p. 91.

humanity. Conscience cannot be interpreted in the terms of a nice balancing of personal or public emotional values ; nor can this standard of action be a fundamental standard of duty for the individual or for the race.

One of the modern dangers which confronts earnest Christian thinkers is that of an opposite attitude to the one pursued by Newman. Newman dreaded the rise of the modern era of intellectual and political freedom. His fear and the solution of it was not that of Wordsworth. The French Revolution profoundly influenced European thinking in the nineteenth century, and the poet who mused about liberty as he watched the lakes and the solemn silences of the mountains never quite recovered from the cold bath of the French upheaval. But Newman, in order to find personal and communal security, turned away from the path of reason, and went back to the early Christian centuries of an undivided Church, before it had been split into a number of ecclesiastical and theological groups and schools, and in this united church he found his source of authority for religion and truth. Institutional authority for experience and duty was his deliberate choice. But an historical ecclesiasticism which was lamentably deficient in ethical insight and redemptive power and idealism, and thought more of its rights and status than the welfare of humanity and religion, is an insecure and insufficient basis of authority for reason and conscience. And the revelation of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man,

based upon the ethical recognition of the Fatherhood, are obscured and belittled in the very church to which Newman went as a safeguard against the modern movement for freedom.

Our danger to-day is that we are suffering from too little reason rather than too much. The danger is one of intellectual cocksureness, and of an effusive egoism as the result partly of the conception of evolution in human society, and the comprehensive movement of life to higher forms of social, economic, political and ethical consciousness. The contention of one school of thought is that as man has made such amazing progress from rude beginnings we may take it for granted that he will advance to an incalculably glorious future; and inasmuch as we are the heirs to this profound and provisional history, we, who are thereby in a much better position to perceive the meaning of the process, and are called to meet situations which the efforts of our predecessors created, ought not to be dominated by any historic authority. The voices of history may evoke gratitude, but should not determine the modern standard and outlook. There is a certain boastful confidence in the modern mind that it requires no historic authority.

It would be foolish to ignore the value of experiment and the value, too, of trying to find out what is really helpful for the age in the light of existing conditions. But to make this the sole test of policy and duty would be an ultimately fatal theory of action. This is one of the vital

flaws of the Pragmatic school. Pragmatism as a philosophy of life looks always to the present and future for guidance. Results of efforts and experiment furnish the data for ethical judgment. It is the doctrine of workability. Professor James maintains that the pragmatist "is willing to live on a scheme of uncertified possibilities which he trusts," and that "Pragmatism has to postpone dogmatic answer, for we do not yet know certainly which type of religion is going to work best in the long run."[1] Galloway is warranted in deducing from this pragmatic position the almost cynical conclusion that "the truth of religious ideas is their functional value for human purposes. . . . . The result of this line of thought is to empty the idea of God of objective or independent reality. Of God in the latter sense we neither know nor can know anything." And he has ample justification for his criticism that "one cannot see that this conception of Deity differs from a convenient fiction which proves practicably serviceable."[2]

Numerical and workable tests are ephemeral and unreliable methods of fixing moral values. Judged in this way Jesus at the end of His ministry was an unimpressive personality, and His message and mode of living simply third rate ethics. The Turk, if pragmatism be a reliable guide, would be justified in regarding his policy, in the light of recent events, as morally sound. It may be contended, of course, that results must not be regarded from sectional

[1] *Pragmatism*, pp. 297, 298, 300, 301.
[2] Galloway, *The Philosophy of Pragmatism*, p. 262.

points of view, nor must programmes and systems be judged from the processes of a few years. The answer to this contention is that life for man in this world is brief, and he ought not to act as if he must constantly wait in order to be sure of anything. There are fundamental truths and principles of duty which do not depend on human consent and assent for their validity. They are rooted in the redemptive scheme of things and derive their authority from God.

This school of thought contains some expositors who advocate sweeping changes in the solution of the ills of human society. With the urgency of comprehensive reform all will agree. But it is in the source of guidance necessary for the realisation of these beneficent changes where we part company. H. G. Wells pleads for the formation of a new bible which he calls *The Bible of Civilization.* His audience is now international; he will find influential support, and it would be a cardinal error to disregard the influence which he exercises over many types of men and women. There is in him a note of impatience. He wants the world to hurry up. Its moral pace in the transition from nationalism to internationalism is too slow for him. He sometimes leads the unwary to a nodding sympathy with intellectual despair, and who, as one writer wittily puts it, might be inclined to think of Albert Chevalier's song: "Wot's the good of annyfink? Why, nuffink." A recipe from Tennyson would assist Wells in his periodic attacks of intellectual spasms:

" ' Have patience,' I replied, ' ourselves are full
Of social wrong ; and maybe wildest dreams
Are but the needful preludes of the truth :
For me, the genial day, the happy crowd,
The sport half-science, fill me with a faith.
This fine old world of ours is but a child
Yet in the go-cart. Patience ! Give it time
To learn its limbs : there is a hand that guides.' "[1]

In his best hours Wells is a convinced teleologist in his outlook upon the movement of the human race ; it moves to a worthy though distant goal. He, however, boldly asserts that the Bible no longer counts as the indispensable guide of the twentieth century. Let him state his own case. " I hope I shall not offend any reader if I point out that the Bible is not all that we need to-day, and that also in some respects it is redundant. Its very virtues created its limitations. It served men so well that they made a Canon of it and refused to alter it further. Throughout the most vital phases of Hebrew history, throughout the most living years of Christian development the Bible changed and grew. Then its growth ceased and its text became fixed. But the world went on growing and discovering new needs and new necessities."[2] He is surprised that the Book finishes where it does. He could have understood its definite mission if its final section had dealt with the ministry and ascension of the Founder of Christianity. But it is a clear case of an anti-climax when the later sections descend to the level of the narratives of the genesis and govern-

[1] *The Princess ; A Medley.*

[2] H. G. Wells, *The Salvaging of Civilization*, pp. 98, 99.

ment of the early church, give brief treatments of theological questions and end with the "strange and doubtful book," the Revelation of St. John. A Bible which furnishes events which relate to the troublous Roman world in the first and early part of the second century of the Christian era can't be very valuable in any light it may throw upon the world problems which we must face to-day, and, if possible, solve. And while the Bible has been the cement of "the fabric of Western civilization," and "the handbook of life to countless millions of men and women," and "given them moral standards and a form in which their consciences could work," it has lost its hold on the modern world. "It no longer grips the community."[1]

Wells goes even further in his contention that the Scriptures are no longer valid as a guide to the ethical demands of our age. He holds that "the sense of personal significance" and "the sense of destiny" which the Pilgrim Fathers and the "soldiers and statesmen of Cromwellian England" possessed is absent from the statesmen and thinkers of our time, and it is mainly because the Bible is permanently out of touch with the modern mind. And the conviction of a destiny which, in the striking phrase of Kidd, "transcends the limit of political consciousness" can only be produced by the international teaching of universal history. Wells assumes the function of the cosmic prophet, and urges that we cannot obtain much assistance in the solution of international problems by the

[1] Wells, *The Salvaging of Civilization*, p. 101.

most intimate understanding of the mobile foreign policies of the nations in the days of the great Hebrew prophets.

Having proved to his own satisfaction that the Bible is for us simply a book of historical values, he sets himself the ambitious task of suggesting the framework of a new Bible, and in anticipation of the criticism that no such book could be produced he asserts that the objection arises from a lack of faith in what the English speaking peoples could accomplish! Wells is here consistently sticking to one of his central convictions, viz., that the teaching of universal history is indispensable if universalism is to supersede patriotism and racialism, and the modern mind, as heir to the accumulating knowledge of the ages is therefore in a better position to work out its own salvation than could be possible by a literal adherence to provisional and historical Bible standards. The present age has the right to create its own standards for its own guidance.

There is a special fascination which Wells exercises over many students of economic science and of social progress who are thoroughgoing evolutionists and anxious to assist in the moral progress of the world. They see that the history of the Bible deals with Eastern peoples, but the centre of emphasis is now the Western world; and the problems which confront us are on a scale and marked by a complexity unimaginable to Hebrew thought, and they are inclined to agree with Wells that we must choose our own ideas and work out

a system of ethics which will solve the difficulties of the world.

Wells is a fearless student in the application of pragmatism to the problems of the time. As in his judgment our Bible doesn't influence the modern mind we must create one that will. It never occurs to him to consider seriously whether the cause of the modern confusion is due to the absence of a spiritual and ethical grasp of the revelation of God and man in the Scriptures. He believes that the best moral and spiritual consciousness of the English speaking peoples is capable of interpreting for itself the moral direction of the world, and we should undertake at once the task of making a new book of civilization. He does condescend to pay literary homage to the Bible, and in his own sketch of the proposed new bible he adopts the Biblical outline as the model of its construction. The cosmogony of Genesis would be replaced by a statement of the origin and evolution of the universe in the light of modern science, followed by the story of the early history of man. Parts of the Old Testament would be included, though no place could be found in a really worthy text-book for such books as Job, Ezra, Nehemiah, the Song of Songs, Esther and Ruth. Some of the Psalms would be all right, though Daniel is out of date, and would find a place in a new Apocrypha. The four Gospels would be placed in the new Bible, and portions of the Epistles, such as 1 Cor. xiii. It would include the best thought in law, righteousness and wisdom. Hence Lincoln's Gettysburg

Address and Henley's *In Victus* would find a place. The new Bible would "constitute the intellectual and moral cement for the want of which our world is in a state of political and social confusion to-day. Upon such a basis, upon a common body of ideas, a common moral teaching, and the world-wide assimilation of the same emotional and æsthetic material, it may still be possible to build up humanity into one co-operative various and understanding community."[1]

With the conviction of Wells that the new generation must be educated in the knowledge of the great ethical teaching of the ages we are in complete agreement. The equipment of the individual is not keeping pace with the expansion of civilization. This would be a serious matter even if the principal governments of the nations were constitutionally autocratic. But in this age of government by the people it is tragic that leaders of nations should be without a competent grasp of the moral tasks and the true moral direction of human society. It is high time we realized that the salvation of the world from sin and ignorance will require the informed judgment and redeemed conscience of all peoples. And if the minds of the democracies are inspired by the same universal sources one urgent need of modern citizenship will be met.

The Christian Church, however, can make no compromise on this clear issue. The supremacy

[1] *The Salvaging of Civilization*, p. 120.

of the Scriptures as the written source of authority for ethical principles is not a matter of suspense or dispute among those who accept Jesus Christ as their Lord and Saviour. Wells misses entirely the inner significance of the purpose of the Bible. It is a revelation of God. It reveals in history the unfolding of the mind and will of God in manifold ways, and through many media of human experience. It was never intended to be a systematic treatment of theology or ethics. It is a revelation of the fundamental ideas of sin, morality, character, social righteousness and international well-being through the living history of a nation and its institutions and personalities, culminating in the life and work of Jesus Christ and His life and work interpreted in the Apostolic writings and in the Apostolic church. A precise sketch of an ideal world for human beings could not have been of much practical value for those who live in this generation, and for others in many succeeding generations. Institutions are the expression of the consciousness of a people, and a developing individualism under the guidance of the Holy Spirit is the spring of national morality and the determining factor in the life of communities.

Three considerations emerge at this point. (1) Wells does not perceive the first condition necessary to estimate the value of the Scriptures. Education is not the first requirement. Revelation must be approached through a definite union with Jesus Christ. No prophecy of Scripture is of any

private interpretation. The profound experience of the writers of the Old and New Testaments must be present in the life and thought of the readers. Ordinary and extraordinary men alike must be partakers of the Divine nature. This life is not abstract, cloistered. It is redemptive, timeless. It works through redeemed instincts as well as through intellectual processes. "Now the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; and he cannot know them, because they are spiritually judged. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, and he himself is judged of no man. For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he should instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ."[1] (2) The scientific statement of moral principles would be contrary to the very genius of the true method of Divine revelation. And it is a complete misunderstanding of the history of the religion of Israel and of the Christological and Apostolic histories to conclude that because the actual mould of civilization has undergone immense changes the Bible therefore cannot be a satisfactory guide of international life to-day. If the Bible had concerned itself simply with the detached statement of a number of ethical and spiritual principles it would have failed entirely to influence those who are up against the challenging and critical situations of actual life. But the glory of the Bible on this point under discussion is that the principles of the revelation in history are valid for

[1] 1 Corinthians ii. 14-16.

all time, and it is much more helpful to the understanding of the Word of God that we should see the operation of timeless moral truths in the movement of Bible history than in the detachment of the laws and methods of conduct and experience. And unfortunately the interpretation of the sacred Book is now so well done that the failure to perceive its permanent and unique value is a conclusive reason for refusing to accept those who refuse its special guidance as trustworthy leaders of the new age.

(3) Wells thinks that a few hundred minds chosen from the British and American peoples would soon be able to create a satisfactory moral guide for modern society. But we are entitled to ask some very pertinent and serious questions. What authority or authorities will choose the men and women for this task, and who will create the authority? Upon what principles will the selection of those who will form the board of international specialists be based? Will loyalty to the message and mediatorial work of Jesus Christ be an essential qualification for inclusion on the board? Will the free lances, who are experts in some branch of the study of the government of society, but who give no definite indications of spiritual convictions be, eligible for membership? The Christian Church could not countenance for a single moment such a mad and pretentious project. Wells has given up political work as far as a Parliamentary career is concerned. Let him also retire from this pathetic ambition of leading the thoughts of men

by the method of disregarding the Book which has been the comfort, strength and guide of countless numbers in the Christian centuries, and will remain as the chief written source of ethical principles. Any serious organized attempt to supersede it by a new Bible would be fraught with serious possibilities ; there would be a brief inglorious reign of the boasted specialist in a passing phase of civilization and the bungler in idealism.

The Bible is the supreme court of ethical direction, and we must guard the Christian consciousness of the age from any tendency to regard it simply as one of a series of authoritative works. Judged by the value of its formative influence, and by the interpretation of spiritual and ethical ideas which made the reforming and redemptive movements of the Reformation and the Evangelical Revival, we need not worry about its influence in the progress of thought. The contemplation of any other written authority as an alternative will probably always create the sense of the consequences of such a step. Still, the aim of Wells and the unorganized and influential thinkers whom he interprets call for serious efforts to warn the Christian thought of our time of the dangers which confront our young people. Dr. Horton is right when he says that " we may safely say that where the Church has departed from the inspired teaching she has declined ; where she has added to it, the additions have been for the worse. Thus the ultimate truth which the Bible gives us in religion remains the ultimate truth which the world has

attained. It is not by accident that the Canon closes where it does."[1]

The high value placed upon the Scriptures must not lead the Church to adopt a mistaken attitude in her defence, or encourage the tendency manifest in certain influential quarters to misrepresent the valuable work which has been done in recent years in Biblical Criticism and in Biblical Theology. It is the modern movement in Biblical Science which has provided us with a reasonable and spiritual basis upon which to rest our faith in the inspired Book. The reign of a slavish literalism is drawing to a close. A man can believe intensely in the evangelical interpretation of the Gospel and at the same time accept the modern view of the Scriptures as presented by scholars like Driver and Peake. The literalistic view has been the cause of many amazing applications. For example, the blacks of South Africa used to suffer terribly at the hands of the Boers, who found their warrant in the mandate given to the Israelites to exterminate the Canaanites! Roman Catholicism confidently appeals to the Mosaic ritual as the vindication of the sacrifice of the mass. It is the consciousness of God and the revelation of His saving purpose revealed in the Book that matters. Heinrich Heine, who was an irresponsible in his pre-Christian days, says, "I owe my conversion simply to the reading of a book. A book? Yes, an old, homely-looking book, modest as nature and natural as it; a book that has a workaday and unassuming

[1] R. F. Horton, *Inspiration and the Bible*, p. 247.

look, like the sun that warms us, like the bread that nourishes us, a book that seems to us as familiar and as full of kindly blessing as the old grandmother who reads daily in it with dear trembling lips and with spectacles on her nose. And the book is called quite shortly—the Book—the Bible."

Truth incarnate in principles for the guidance of conduct must find its expression in human personality, and the wealth and range of consciousness will condition the grasp and obedience of the soul. Speech and life with the sure eternal accent can only come from a timeless personality who lives in the spheres where the "unbeginning beginning" is :

> " Forever fixed in heaven, Yahweh, is *Thy* Word.
> To all generations Thou hast established (in) the earth and there standest fast (*Thy*) Saying.
> As regards Thy judgments, they stand fast to-day ; for all are *Thy* servants.
> Forever will I not forget ; for Thou dost quicken me according to Thy (Statutes). [1]

Man does not create truth. He discovers it. The reason in man is akin to the reason of God. The Bible does not create it ; it registers it. Its value is that it reveals what is eternal in truth and in the principles of life. It tells us what God forever wants man to be, become and do. But its supreme Centre is in a Person. Jesus Christ is not only the revealer of truth. He *is* the truth.

[1] C. A. and E. G. Briggs, *Commentary on the Psalms*, Vol. II., Psa. cxix. 89-91.

The implications of this are finely stated by Fairbairn. He says, "Has not science been made by certain supreme minds, discoveries by certain daring explorers, political order and ideas elaborated and embodied in politics by genius in the form of statesmen? It is personality that counts in all things, and most of all in that concentrated form of moral good which we call religion. For religion has at once this distinction and value: it is moral good under its most august and sovereign aspect, as it effects man's inmost being and ultimate relations. . . . . If then, man, by his moral being touches the skirts of God, and God is enforcing His law for ever, by means of great persons, shaping the life of man to its diviner issues, what could be more consonant, alike with man's nature and God's method of forming or reforming it, than that He should send a supreme Personality as the vehicle of the highest good of the race? Without such a Personality the moral forces of time would lack unity, and without unity they would be without organization, purpose or efficiency. If a Person has appeared in history who has achieved such a position and fulfilled such functions, how can He be more fitly described than as the Son of God and the Saviour of man?"[1]

We must make up our minds about the place which Jesus Christ fills in personal and collective history and in the universe. Without this Divine revealer there is no specific Christian ethic, nor any

[1] Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, pp. 92, 93.

historic centre of ethical validity. The historical investigations which make more clear the Bible background, and especially the manifold environment of peoples, thoughts, words, institutions and governments in the midst of which Jesus lived and thought are to be welcomed. And a more lucid setting of the Old Testament revelation in its ethical value, and as a preparation for Jesus can only result in a truer perspective and clearer grasp of the fundamental unity of the moral and spiritual revelation of the Bible. But Jesus stands out pre-eminently as the key to its significance. There are two great aspects of His moral value for all ages. (1) His life was a continuous expression of the fundamental way of living. He challenged His age with His interrogation : " Which of you convinceth Me of sin ? " The answer was given through the lips of a representative judge. " I find no fault in Him." It is impossible to conceive of a true life which is lived on any other lines than His.

> " And so the Word had breath, and wrought
> With human hands the creed of creeds
> In loveliness of perfect deeds
> More strong than all poetic thought."[1]

(2) His message is fundamental and comprehensive. Every moral and spiritual truth by which man lives his best life is rooted in His teaching. The teaching articulates the Person and the Person gives the teaching permanent and central value. This is not true of any other spiritual and ethical

[1] Tennyson, *In Memoriam*.

leader. Flaw and limitation mark the rest. But in Jesus Christ we have the supreme Source of ethics; we are in the very soul of religion, we listen to the articulated speech of eternity, the unfaltering utterance of God's will and destiny for man. Here is the sure foundation upon which every generation must build, and here the direction to take in the otherwise pathless evolution, in order to reach the abode of ultimate reality.

The problem, however, goes deeper than the view of His historical value. The Personality of Jesus forces itself upon us, as ocean tides press the coast. There are those, as Ritschl reminds us, who maintain that "Jesus taught a lofty morality, but in the exercise of this vocation never transgressed the limits of a purely human estimate of Himself; only through influences that are wholly external have His followers been led to regard Him as an incarnation of the Deity."[1] We agree with Ritschl that "this view is historically inaccurate." But the very versatility of views about the Person of Christ is really a valuable piece of apologetic. When He asked the disciples at Cæsarea Philippi what the Jews thought about Him they informed Him that there were varieties of opinion. The hero worshippers of special Old Testament personalities saw such close resemblances between their favourite and Jesus that they were certain that their hero had appeared again on the earth. Others found such a striking likeness to the manner of life of John the Baptist

[1] Ritschl, *Justification and Reconciliation*, p. 386.

that they regarded Jesus as the reincarnation of the Baptist. There is an obvious reason for this variety of view about Jesus. When a person is built on elementary lines there is no difficulty in estimating him. If, on the other hand, the man is rich and manifold and representative in nature he will stimulate a series of interpretations of his worth. We get unanimity of opinion about smaller men and versatility with regard to outstanding types. It takes a short time to go round a haystack; it requires a much longer time to go round an Alpine mountain. "The supreme religious genius, unapproached, unapproachable," is too big to be expressed completely in the categories of the historic creeds, or in the range of all the schools of modern thought. "They are but broken lights of" Him. The important matter is that the interpreter of Jesus must always be sure that his ethical message *is derived from Him,* and is intended to illumine for the modern world the way of personal and international duty for the feet of the pilgrims who are looking for the city of God.

Jesus Christ and His revelation of life and duty must be supreme in the faith and work and government of men and the world before a satisfactory human society can be realized. The only alternative is confusion, division, ruin. He is absolutely necessary to the formulation and objective validity of all statement of moral truth. He is necessary for the ordered unity of thought and life. If He is ignored in the movement of thought to-day, or in the attempt to guide the peoples of the world into

right relationships, the results will be terrible. "Without Me, ye can do nothing."

Some results are sure to follow. (1) The best minds will land in agnosticism. "Religion," as Fairbairn says, "is so essential to man that he cannot escape from it. It besets him, penetrates, holds him even against his will. . . . . For what is the Agnostic but a man who confesses that there are ideas which he will not name but cannot escape from—ideas that he must disguise in order that he may reason concerning them? These ideas beget the ideals which have an infinite meaning for man, for they are born of religion, and for ever cause religion to be born anew within him."[1] This is beautifully expressed, but there is another side. Agnosticism would inevitably produce a potent refusal to be subject to any authority for ethics outside the individual, or the community or nation within which the individual resided. The brotherhood of the race would be impossible. Man would be engaged in a quest for a revelation and a destiny without a worthy teleological goal. (2) A second result will be that Roman Catholicism will become the centre to which timid and temperamentally trustful souls will turn. Protestantism has no religion or authoritative ethic apart from a Divine Redeemer who reveals Himself in the experience and to the reason of the surrendered individual. Without this, the longing for certainty will find its mystic

[1] Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, pp. 196, 197.

satisfaction in a venerable institutional security. The historic continuity of an ecclesiastical mandate, without Christological sanction, but professed to be guaranteed from Apostolic days, symbolizing the sure transmission of a reliable faith for this world and the next, and providing unfailing direction in the minutest details of religious obligations will secure large accessions of sincere souls. (3) A third result will be that the modern humanitarian tendency will find its inspiration in listening to the undertone of the struggling masses of the world. What humanity is trying to secure will become the exclusive ideal for guidance. Already there are those who are actuated by purely economic and humanitarian motives who interpret the ministry of Jesus only from the view point of its intellectual and economic value, and who treat the church with vocal scorn. Dora Greenwell, in her book, *Two Friends,* gives expression to an interpretation of human life which requires a serious qualification before it can be accepted. She says, "The heart of a people, if it could but speak, is always in its right place." There is something in man which never consents to the wrong he does, but the sin in human nature, which is always awaiting an opportunity to defeat the man, cannot be overcome by human effort alone. And if the race has to depend upon humanitarian considerations alone, it will soon lose even this motive of duty.

(4) A new lease of life will be given to an exclusive racialism. The German ethic or absence of ethic

which created the war will survive and increase in influence. It is not necessarily German in its type. It is a creed which will find a responsive national consciousness in which the Christian creed of life and humanity does not exist, or is regarded as part of the embroidery of the State. And from such peoples will emerge forces from which, like the Troubles which escaped from Pandora's box as the result of her curiosity, winged mischievous ideas will seek a congenial human residence in the individual, and there are always numbers of these mystic houses to let. The political and military estate agents will initiate policies which will attract the "spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places." The result will be the perpetuation of the State as the sole guide of a nation. Where Christ is ignored nationalism of the most rigorous and jealous nature is triumphant, and the very demand for an ordered community would result in the systematic repression of individual freedom. No quarter would be given to person or group who threatened the continuity of the existing order. Progress is impossible in these conditions, because vested interests would be concerned about the maintenance of the system which favoured and endowed them. The world would thus be hopelessly divided by a series of impenetrable barriers.

It will be seen in a later chapter that only in the Person and revelation of Christ can these grave consequences be avoided. This Person is the eternal Son of God, in whom God is reconciling the

world. We make no apology for the length of the following quotation from Forsyth, which is a brilliant statement of the finality and supremacy and uniqueness of Christ. "The evolutionary idea is certainly compatible with Christianity; but not so long as it claims to be the supreme idea, to which Christianity must be shaped. Evolution is within Christianity, but Christianity is not within evolution. For evolution means the rule of a levelling relativism, which takes from Christ His absolute value and final place, reduces Him to be but a stage in God's revelation, or a phase of it that can be outgrown, and makes Him the less of a Creator as it ranges Him vividly in the scale of the creature. There is no such foe to Christianity in thought to-day as this idea is; and we can make no terms with it so long as it claims the throne. The danger is the greater as the theory grows more religious, as it becomes sympathetic with a Christ it does not worship, and praises a Christ to whom it does not pray. . . . . To say that evolution is God's supreme method with the world is to rule out Christ as His final revelation. It is to place Christ but at a point in the series, and to find Him most valuable when He casts our thoughts forward from Himself to a greater revelation which is bound to come if evolution go on. But when Christ's finality is gone, Christianity is gone. Yea, and progress itself is gone. For there is no faith in progress permanently possible without that standard of progress which we have in Christ, the earnest of the inheritance, the proleptic goal of

history, the foregone sum of the whole matter of man. Progress without any certainty of the goal is as impossible in practice as it is senseless in thought. It is mere emotion, mere change. We need a standard to determine whether movement be progress. And the only standard is some prevenient form or action of the final goal itself. Our claim is that for religion the standard is God's destiny for man, presented in advance in Christ—presented there, and not merely pictured—presented to man, not achieved by him—given us as a pure present and gift of grace—and presented finally there. Man has in Christ the reality of His destiny, and not a mere prophecy of it."[1]

The demand which Christ makes is not for a blind loyalty which accepts Him and His universal ethic without an intelligent effort to see the relation of His Person to the historical movement, and the fitness of the truth He reveals to the reason of the man He loves. And as man is by nature religious, and is compelled by his experience into thought, speech, action and institution, it would be strange if the reason God gave were not adequate to the interpretation, at any rate for practical purposes, of the work which Christ did. Man can only investigate and estimate by the use of the faculties given him, and they were given to be used. It is not an effective argument on the other side to point to the confusions and contradictions of ethical teachers, and also to the antagonisms between the churches which stand for the Christian

[1] Forsyth, *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, pp. 10-12.

witness. There are reasons for the absence of moral unanimity. Intellectual activity is relatively reliable only when it is allied to moral insight and emotional wealth. Where the instincts are starved and the intellect is virile, the mental output will be icy, severe, unsympathetic. The thinker will have what A. C. Benson calls the catalogued mind, and Galsworthy describes as the man of fact. The results of such thinking in a man or a group of persons will be a serious ignorance of much in Christian duty that is essential. Again, where the emotional nature is rich, and has been influenced at the fires of noble sentiment, æsthetic worship and cloistered contemplation, but in which intellectual activity has been severed from the passion to know the truth at all costs, and severed, too, from the representative seers, the result can only be the adoption of a limited and often incorrect view of duty. Maggie, in *The Mill on the Floss*, held that her wrongs were always better than the rights of her brother Tom. There are those who always read truth through their temperament. Further, in our day one of the dangers is the formulation of moral conviction by the influence of political and economic motives. These features of civilization cannot be ignored, and it is in harmony with our criticism of pragmatism when we urge that, while the data of man's natural life do not provide the basis of moral judgment, they help us in the discovery of the right and wrong of communal laws and practices. The most enlightened nations have reached a momentous

crisis in the task of finding out the larger lines upon which material wealth must be produced and used, and their political institutions developed, and their equipment for the work is lamentably deficient. There is only a partial knowledge of humanity and its needs, and convictions are coloured and almost dominated by the illusions of class consciousness. Further, far too many moral judgments are influenced by the national atmosphere and the time spirit. This peril of moral conformity to mere historic human standards has confronted many a generation. For example, there was a time when few persons doubted the wisdom and rightness of slavery. The great Greek teachers regarded it as part of the normal arrangement of human society, and in those days when, to the leaders of thought, knowledge and contemplation were the cure for wrong the economic arrangements of slavery provided the intellectualists with the necessary material resources of an unworried life. When Paul preached at Athens the population of free men was very small. But if a man ventured to-day to suggest the introduction of slavery in the old sense of it he would be expelled from public life. In some influential circles the traditional spirit still lingers. Not long ago there was a sharp conflict before the semi-slavery of Chinese girls in one portion of His Majesty's dominions was brought to an end. One of the interesting problems of history is the continuance of customs whose defects were manifest to the best minds generations ago, but which survive among peoples who seem un-

aware of the cruelty involved. A signal illustration is the popularity of bull-fighting in Spain and continental duelling. The cotton mills of America were some years ago the centres of a partial inhumanity in the use of child labour. The sacrifice of Indian children and the treatment of widows in that country are part of the Indian custom and ethic. Lord Shaftesbury's soul was stirred at the brutal treatment of children in their long hours of work and awful toil, but business men argued that it was necessary for the success of their business. The cruelties of fox-hunting, rabbit-coursing, and the ravages of intemperance are manifest to all who are morally sensitive to cruelty and to the causes of misery, but the experts in these practices are usually indifferent to or ignorant of their wrongness. The plea of usage is a sufficient justification for the practices. To-day there are policies and canons of business which seem right to numbers of persons, but which in a couple of centuries will be regarded as the survivals, if practised, of an obsolete civilization. In my boyhood days in my native village I frequently went to the house of a local preacher. One of the panes of glass in his kitchen window was an unfailing cause of fun. All persons seen through it were original and grotesque. Unrivalled cartoons were visible. A man a hundred yards away was distinguished by a massive, strange-shaped head. When he got nearer, his head perceptibly decreased in bulk, his body became impressive ; and when a few yards from the window his legs took the place of honour. The defect

was not in the person looked at, but in the thing looked through ; and this is the defect of enormous numbers of people, especially the so-called practical folk and the instinctive lovers of the antique who combine intellectual poverty and a cultivated veneration.

Another piece of autobiography. My boyhood home was a house of three rooms and unpretentious furniture, and always "spotlessly clean." We used to close the wooden shutters on the outside of the living room window in the evening, and they were made secure by means of a bolt and screw. One summer I got a surprise. The bolt had not been placed in the hole on the previous night, and a shaft of light from the sun came through the bolt hole, revealing countless particles of dust. I was unaware of their presence until the light revealed them. This is an illustration of man's history. He is too often content with the racial house, and unaware of the dangers in the atmosphere of his mind which threaten his moral robustness and the springs of action.

The only hope for the salvation of the individual and the moralizing of peoples is in the enthronement in every nation of the message and spirit of Christ.

CHAPTER II.

The Old Testament and Internationalism.

I.—The Message of the Pre-Prophetic Period.

THE brilliant work of a generation of scholars has provided us with a new setting of the history of Israel, and brought into clear relief the constructive work of the Old Testament seers in the realm of ethical ideals and ideas. Considerations of space forbid the full treatment of the ethical revelation of the pre-Christian era. A brief exposition, however is necessary for several reasons. The tendency some years ago to regard the Old Testament message as purely tentative and provisional has given place to more serious attempts to discover the essential value of its spiritual and ethical teaching. Besides, the more recent studies of contemporary Greek thought, as, for example, in the book of Glover, *Progress in Religion*, while enhancing our view of the religious and ethical insight of her great thinkers, enable us to place a higher value than before on the more fundamental revelation of the Old Testament, and to perceive in it the unique interpretation of God and man until the coming of our Lord

Jesus Christ. Further, this Hebrew preparation enables us to appreciate the rich spiritual environment into which Jesus came, even though He had to separate the traditional and exclusive ecclesiasticism in the practice and thought of His age from the message of the historic prophets and poets. He came not to destroy but to fulfil, to complete the incomplete, and to bring to perfect expression the religious and moral truths which had been imperfectly expressed by His predecessors. Another consideration is that our view of the work of the prophets is enhanced when we observe their ceaseless efforts to rescue Israel from a rigid and political nationalism, and to make the national consciousness the instrument of an international ministry. This prophetic work was done in the midst of a frequently low morality accepted and practised in their times. The imperfect domestic ethic was often a fruitful cause of trouble. The flouting of the principles of social justice, human rights, material obligations, the prostitution of justice in the treatment of widows and the poor, and the numerous sins against humanitarian feeling reveal the difficulty of the work of the prophets, and the high value to be placed upon their light shining in dark places.

It is obvious from these considerations that the Old Testament is not a text-book of ethics. It is rather the Book which reveals eternal principles emerging from the experience and insight of men of God, and applied to the living history of a nation. It is a revelation of God, working through personal

and national experience. It is therefore more valuable for the interpretation of life in terms of truth and duty than any systematic treatise could possibly be. There is a suggestive difference here, as Strong reminds us, between Greek speculation and Hebrew thought. "The Greek mind," he says, "busied itself with the end of life, the ideal order of life, or the nature of virtue, or the sanction of the moral law."[1] The Hebrew prophet started with the personality of God and the ethical implications of this idea in the relation of God to His chosen people.

The revelation of the prophets was preceded by a famous succession of patriarchs and seers. The story of the moral struggle of man is given in the early chapters of Genesis. The Garden of Eden and the story of the Fall in it will always be the great classic in its interpretation of the origin of sin. And even though the narratives may be paralleled by interpretations from other sources the comparative study only serves to create the conviction of the unique significance of the Bible interpretation. Its value is in the emphasis laid on the moral character of God, and the moral results involved in the deliberate violation of the law of God.

The history of Abraham is revealing in its clear unfolding of the purpose of God. His call provides the key to the understanding of his subsequent career, and especially the Divine aim of his changeful work. "Now the Lord said unto

[1] Strong, *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I., p. 777.

Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto the land that I will shew thee: and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and be thou a blessing: and I will bless them that bless thee, and him that curseth thee I will curse: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." (Genesis xii. 1-3.) This is a momentous declaration. Plato would probably have worked out the problem of the world on another line. His God would have been without the definite monotheistic and ethical note. He would have contemplated a complete re-organization of society, with the philosopher as the statesman, as the way to realize a new order of life. Men would be lifted on the methods of a mass movement after the reconstruction of the environment. The revelation to Abraham goes much deeper, and takes into its sweep a much more thorough ethical and human survey. The ultimate reign of universal beneficence will start from the work of an individual, and will operate through families and personalities. Though the doctrine of the value of the individual received its first definite statement in the teaching of Jeremiah it is implied in the call of Abraham. The call comes to *him*; he is to be the human instrument for the creation of a great nation; his name will be famous because of the initial contribution which he will make to this new grouping of persons. He is to be a pioneer in the history of nationality. But the nation will not be the

final goal of racial unity. Nationality will not be an end in itself. The work of Abraham will be so impressive that the blessings which he will introduce "will attract the regard of all peoples, and awaken in them the longing to participate in them."[1] It is probable that "In thee shall all nations be blessed," should be translated: "In thee shall all nations of the earth bless themselves." Abraham will represent a type of blessedness which all people will desire for themselves. His work will represent a permanent international contribution to human well being. Paul found his historic root for his changed outlook in the promise which was made to the patriarch, and continued the same international ministry though with a richer experience and a more conscious sense of its redemptive sources and implications. For Abraham there will be no national or human frontiers, no visible and political exclusiveness. Nations will one day derive their inspiration from the same historic sources.

History, therefore, will not be permanently a succession of haphazard and detached experiences in personalities and peoples. It is not straining the mandate of Abraham to assert that it contains the idea of a history of man, as far as the will of God is concerned, as an ordered moral and beneficent movement, through the effort of personalities, towards a worthy destiny of moral good and felicity. God directs but does not dictate the process. Man must work in alliance with God Who makes the

[1] Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, p. 145.

plan and redemptively wills the goal. He is the eternal foe of lines of division, except for practical purposes, and only as far as they serve the larger good of humanity. Moral personalities serving moral ends and inspired by the same moral ideals for the whole race, and nations using their national strength in obedience to the will of a moral Deity for the good of the whole race—these will realize the Divine redemptive aims.

This purpose of God avoids the necessitarian perils of a thoroughgoing attempt to make history and nature the illustration of a dictatorial Deity. The law of nature, of course, operates as a predestined uniformity. Human history, on the other hand, starts from the plan of a world order which allows scope for the free movement of human beings within the sphere of an infinite purpose of good. Abraham began his career in willing obedience to a call from God Who had in view the ultimate good of the human family.

Any dogmatic relegation of the message to Abraham to a very late period as the invention of a writer who puts his own mature ideas into the biography of the patriarch, and who is anxious to give his nation a comprehensive send-off, is unnecessary and unjustified for two reasons. (1) God appears at likely moments in the patriarch's subsequent history with a similar promise of posthumous good. Especially is the moral value of the promise reinforced by its repetition after the trial of offering up Isaac. The trial reveals that God leads men through struggle with strangling custom and imper-

fect ideas to a clearer knowledge of the realities and logic of their faith. The offering of Isaac was the result of a conflict between the ideas in which Abraham was brought up and his own instincts, and he came to a deeper view of sacrifice in his venture of love and faith. And the revelation afterwards of a world where nations will be blessed by the example of obedience to the Divine will points to the fundamental value of right human conduct for the good of the world. A real internationalism requires the recognition of the supremacy and direction of God, and of a common faith and obedience in those who work for its realisation. (2) Some such preparation is necessary to explain the call which came to Moses.

The implications of a Divine order of human society and of a Divine Providence are revealed, too, in the career and faith of the patriarch's successors. God is not a tribal deity, confined to a piece of the earth's interest. He was with Joseph in Egypt as He was with his fathers in their nomadic life elsewhere. Joseph said to his brothers after the death of their father, when they feared that the removal of parental restraint might be followed by a brother's revenge, "And as for you, ye meant evil against me; but God meant it for good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive. Now therefore fear ye not: I will nourish you, and your little ones. And he comforted them, and spake kindly unto them." (Genesis l. 20, 21.) The act of forgiveness and reconciliation, in a moment when this alien statesman had ample

means of revenge, finely illustrates the profound influence upon conduct that a moral conception of the purpose of God exercises, and the Divine demands were as imperious in Egypt as in the land of Canaan. God was not ignorant of the unbrotherly conduct of Joseph's kinsmen; He intervened in order to turn the plans of evil into the service of good by the preservation of populations during years of agricultural penury. Canaan and Egypt equally were spheres within which the will of God operated for humanitarian ends. The Hebrew statesman of the Egyptian autocracy is true to the fundamental ideal of forgiveness due to his conception of the international sphere where God morally works out a higher ministry of good by the circumvention of evil designs.

This historic preparation for the work of Moses is clear from the nature of his call. When God intimated to him that he must undertake the task of liberating his countrymen, God described Himself as "the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." The interpreting work of Moses cannot be explained by Egyptian practice and belief, nor by Semitic tradition, even though there are traces of both in his own life and in the life of his people. The work was too fundamental to be explained by a knowledge of Semitic beliefs. His value for one purpose is twofold. (1) He created a nation from an unorganized people who were slaves, and after a marvellous escape from Egypt, and years of desert life, left them at the end of his career with favour-

able prospects of a national home. (2) He rooted this national consciousness in the moral and spiritual character of God. In other words, he made the religion ethical, as far as his own efforts and intentions were concerned, and laid the foundations of moral conduct within the nation, and in their relations with other nations. How thoroughly he worked and how successful he was is revealed in their subsequent history. The rescue from Egypt became in later history a rallying point for faith and duty, though, as Hosea reminds us, there was the constant danger in the professional mind, and probably partly in the popular mind too, of interpreting it as a guarantee of unconditional favouritism. The God who led them out of Egypt was *their* God, and that was enough.

The history of Israel from the close of the wilderness journeyings to the period of the great prophets is occupied with the problems of the unity of the nation, their tendencies to idol worship, the cycle of declensions, humiliations, repentance and prosperity, their sanguinary struggles with other nations, their judges and seers, and the establishment of the monarchy, which knit the tribes into a more constitutional unity. The creation of the monarchy paved the way for an increase of militarism, wealth and foreign interests, and thereby producing crops of new sins and the intensifying of old sins. One great danger appeared through these centuries, viz., the tendency to regard God as bound up exclusively with the fortunes of the chosen people, with the consequent fluctuating faith

in Him as a tribal deity and the inevitable lowering of the morals of the nation.

During this long period the emphasis by the judges of Israel upon right conduct is insistent and incessant. The condemnation of murder is revealed in the story of Cain and Abel. The narratives of the Flood and of Sodom and Gomorrah make clear the punishment which overtakes communities who ignore God. A sort of semi-slavery was practised, and the moderate nature of it may be due to the terrible memory of the slavery of the Egyptian days. Dr. Peake says, "In some cases a boy or girl might be born into slavery; in other cases were sold into slavery by their parents. Sometimes the economic position was so desperate that a man was forced to sell himself into slavery. . . . . The slave, in whatever way he had become such, was the property of the master, who had the complete disposal of his time, his strength, and his labour, apart from any limitations imposed by the law of God."[1] This practice was also stimulated by the demands for conscripts in the wars of the early and also the later Hebrew history; and probably the emphasis upon tribal rather than personal life rather obscured the cruelties and injustices of the trade in men and women. It is in harmony with this tribal conception of life that Gentiles were usually subject to a more vigorous treatment than the Hebrew slaves were. But the call of Moses and the ethical character of his mission contained the seeds of a more humanitarian system,

[1] Peake, *Brotherhood in the Old Testament*, p. 54.

which was to culminate in the work of the great prophets.

The problem of the creation of a real nationalism proved more difficult than Moses probably anticipated. The compulsions of the wilderness years may have stimulated the need for unity among the nomads, but their later history shows that the leaders were occupied in preserving the national consciousness and in deepening the sense of the moral relation between Yahweh and his people. And it is precisely this struggle for the triumph of nationality which naturally conditions and limits the message and mission of some leaders of Israel who, in more favourable conditions, would have laboured for the introduction of a wider set of relationships. This concentration upon an unsettled people accounts partly for the elementary ethics practised at certain stages of their history.

The history of the tribes as they emerged from the wilderness illustrates these considerations. The transition from the nomadic to the agricultural life was a difficult period for ancient peoples, and the crisis was made more acute for Israel because of the ethical demands of their religion, even though the popular grasp of it was pathetically superficial. The struggle for the possession of Canaanite territories was not undertaken by a united nation. The creation of a true national policy to meet difficult situations usually involves a long period. Besides, the ultimate settlement in Canaan brought prosperity and the subtle perils

of the ancient world of nature worship. Polytheism became rife, and the combination of nature worship and immorality was universally manifest. So terrible were the results of this moral anarchy that even when in later times the worship of Yahweh was rescued from the level of surrounding tribal deities the immoral practices of the Canaanite period survived. And while it stands to the credit of the great prophets from the time of Amos that they recognized the value of the union of religion and civilization, more than one of them came to the conclusion that nothing short of drastic measures could save the nation from the Canaanite traditions.

The establishment of the monarchy confirms the impression that the preservation and purity of the national consciousness was a serious matter of the pre-prophetic period. The pressure from the Philistines and others compelled the leaders to establish the monarchy, and ultimately it removed the danger of foreign invasion and strengthened the nation through the days of the earlier kings. If only some of the principles of David's reign had been adhered to there might have been a wider vision of national obligations in the days of his successors. But Solomon's combination of commercial genius, economic waste, and sexual and political insanity, and the tactless bravado and cruelty of Rehoboam thrust a wedge between the tribes, and the inauguration of the two kingdoms was a mistake which the people never rectified.

During these eventful centuries there is abundant evidence of how righteousness exalts a nation and sin degrades, and how, too, a high doctrine of God and a true morality are necessary to each other. Though the moral level of those centuries was often low, there was, on the whole, a distinct tendency to a truer grasp of ethical principles and their implications. Israel's emergence was due to the nature of her faith, to her efforts for a truer life and to the possession of a series of great personalities. The unselfishness and unwearied efforts of Moses to create a right moral relation between his people and God, and his incessant struggle to save the nation from forgetfulness of God, raised the moral standard of his countrymen for subsequent generations to remember. Samuel, Nathan and Elijah remind Israel that character was more important than national prowess in war. Samuel was the moral preserver of his nation during the fickle rule of Saul. Elijah opposed Ahab in his allegiance to the Tyrian Baal and his murder of an obscure peasant.

Israel, as has been indicated, shared the moral limitations of the time in the practice of commercial and domestic slavery. But the general trend of morality was towards a loftier standard of life. The Decalogue, which may have been a much later production, contains explicit injunctions of reverence for God and the Sabbath, filial loyalty, the denunciation of murder, adultery, robbery, treachery to neighbours, and numerous forms of covetousness. The Deuteronomic

contribution, which may also be a later work, constantly reminds the reader of the need of combining religion and morality. "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thine heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up" (Deut. vi. 4-7). The value of these commands it is impossible to exaggerate. His emphasis upon loving God, and the injunction to include it in the domestic curriculum, and in discussions when walking reveals the deeper moral experience which is sought.

II.—The Message of the Prophets.

AMOS appeared at an eventful moment in the history of his country. A living voice was needed. "The most precious gift that Heaven can give to the earth," Carlyle says, "is the Soul of a Man actually sent down from the skies with a God's message to us." Amos was one of these. The times were critical. The international order had changed. There was no longer any trouble from Philistia and Tyre on the West,

nor from Syria, Edom and Moab on the East. Israel will soon confront mightier empires, and will need men of God who will be able to create a right foreign policy, and cherish the ideal of a worthy destiny for the nations. Whilst Amos sees the unfolding of world situations which those who succeed him will have to deal with, the internal condition of his nation is grave in the extreme. There is no immediate danger of invasion. Syria had been exhausted by conflicts with Israel, and was paralysed at a later period by Assyria. There had been an interval of peace in which the results of war were only too patent. Great numbers of the flower of the peasantry had been killed. The economic stringency due to non-production and heavy taxation made the farmers who remained an easy prey to the wealthier and more astute Hebrews who were able to secure their lands. The rich became richer, and the poor poorer, and the process of exhaustion was hastened by the unjust administration of the law which favoured the land magnates and monopolists. The toilers thus either drifted into the congested populations, or became serfs on the big estates. Commercial corruption abounded; bribes were omnipotent in legal and political affairs.

Such pitiless and shameless methods of acquiring wealth created the communal mood in which moral restraints disappeared and profligate expenditure was rampant. There was wanton and criminal luxury in which the women were as bad as the men. There was senseless waste on banquets and

costly aromatics. Amos describes those "who lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches"; "sing idle songs to the sound of the viol; that devise for themselves instruments of music, like David; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments; but they are not grieved for the afflictions of Joseph" (Amos vi. 4-6).

What added to the heartlessness and moral insanity was the devotion to worship, religious feasts and offerings, a blend which dates from the nature worship of their agricultural beginnings in the old Canaanite days.

Amos faces this situation. His soul is roused to its depths, and he utters his burning indignation against the hypocrisy, the shamelessness, the vice, the inhumanity and immoral worship of the nation. There was one piece of common ground between him and them. They both agree that Yahweh is the God of Israel and they are His people. But Amos deduces a very different conclusion from that which was the popular conviction. And it is at this point where his message contains a truth of permanent value for our purpose. He says that God is not limited by this mutual relationship. His freedom is not bounded by the nature of this agreement; God's obligations are conditioned by the manifestation of moral consistency on the part of Israel. When God called Israel as the vehicle of revelation there was implied a corresponding loyalty to religious and ethical principles which did not permit or excuse persistent disobe-

dience. Special light granted makes wrong the more repulsive. And Amos states his view of the purpose of God in nature and history. "For the Lord, the God of hosts, is He that toucheth the land and it melteth, and all that dwell therein shall mourn; and it shall rise up wholly like the River; and shall sink again, like the River of Egypt; it is he that buildeth his chambers in the heaven, and hath founded his vault upon the earth; he that calleth for the waters of the sea and poureth them out upon the face of the earth; the Lord is His name. Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord. Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?" (Amos ix. 5-7). This frontierless interest of God in His world is based upon the veracity of His own nature. There are no contradictions in His incessant activity in the universe, and He cannot be indifferent to deliberate and flagrant sin, especially where care has been exercised in the nursing of a people for moral purposes. Hence the bombshell which Amos threw on their self-complacency, and which produced consternation in priestly and royal circles, as revealed in the description of the movements of Amaziah. It was precisely this world view of a true morality which made Amos blaze forth the memorable words: "Hear this word that the Lord hath spoken against you, O children of Israel, against the whole family which I brought up out of the land of Egypt,

saying, You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities" (Amos iii. 1–2).

Hosea utters a supplementary and perhaps deeper aspect of revelation. For this he was partly indebted to his special experience as a husband. Faithful to him in their early married life his wife subsequently sought other lovers, and when still later she was to be sold he bought her back, and treated her as in the earlier years of real love. The prophet came to see in his love for his unfaithful wife a suggestive interpretation of the enduring love of God for his faithless countrymen. He also sees another aspect of this love under a filial symbol. God's love is not only that of the sacramental value of marriage; it is also the love of a parent for his son. "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt" (Hosea xi. 1). The view of the Divine relation to Israel is partly suggested by God's identification with their sorrow and suffering as implied in the call of Moses. "And the Lord said, I have surely seen the affliction of My people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows" (Ex. iii. 7). God has been bound to them by bonds of love expressed in the terms of the most perfect relation that can exist between man and woman, and between father and son. The moral significance of right and wrong is not simply a matter of ethical judgment; national experience and policy and practical activity must

be estimated in the light of the unchanging faithfulness and love of God.

It is this revelation of Hosea which makes the sin of his people so heart-breaking. It is the flippant and deliberate ignoring of the love of God, rather than a mere disobedience of a code of regulations. And, though Hosea is thinking of their collective moral wrong, their sin is not the less serious. It is against Him who loved them, and Who, in spite of their persistent faithlessness and filial disloyalty, cannot cease to love them. The bonds on God's side cannot be broken. "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel? how shall I make thee as Admah? how shall I set thee as Zeboim? mine heart is turned within me, my compassions are kindled together" (Hosea xi. 8).

The prophet's view of the sins of his nation must be approached from the point of view of God's relation to them. His denunciations and appeals have more than a political or patriotic significance. His imagery belongs to the realms of noble instincts which transcend the frontiers of blood and government. His moral outlook, though passionately concerned with the sins of Israel, has a reach whose implications cover the disloyalties of all times and peoples. His message is a constant reminder of the supreme value of human duty which draws its inspiration from, and finds its vindication in, the love of God. It also teaches us that religion has little value in it if it consist simply of ceremonial worship and is divorced from

moral obligations; and also that while drastic punishment may be necessary to purge a nation from centuries of accumulated wrongdoing God will ultimately in this way create a nobler form of human society and a new moral type of man.

The place of Isaiah in the advance of religious and ethical ideas is important for several reasons. His message clearly reveals his indebtedness to his predecessors. As Gray reminds us in his commentary [1] Amos did his public work during the boyhood of Isaiah, and in the early years of his prophetic activity, Hosea, who was a native of the Northern Kingdom, was reminding his countrymen of the love of God and the approach of the Divine judgment. Their geography made it possible for Isaiah to be acquainted with the work of both prophets, and this acquaintance stimulates the formation of his own message. But Isaiah was more than a borrower. Amos and Hosea were rural products and seldom dealt with definite political issues. Isaiah is always in the centre of the shaping movements and forces of his time. He evidently belonged to an eminent family in Jerusalem, and must have had some knowledge of the men and the political situation behind the scenes. Probably this had something to do with the importance which he attaches to the value of moral principles in the realm of government. His knowledge of the monarchial and military directors

[1] G. B. Gray, *The Book of Isaiah*, i.-xxxix., Inter. Crit. Comm., Introduction, lxviii., lxix.

of home and foreign policy enabled him to undertake the work of saving the nation from a home policy of flouting moral obligations and from a foreign policy which left God "out of account."

The key to his constructive work is to be found in two causes. (1) His vision of God, which constituted his call to the prophetic office, completely changed his life, and shaped the line of his career. (2) His faith in a policy of quietness, peace and reliance upon God determined the lines upon which he thought the foreign policy of his nation should move.

The vision of God which came to him in 740 B.C., was the supreme experience of the prophet. He had been impressed in his youth with the success of the rule of Uzziah. National and military glory would naturally appeal to one who was reared in an atmosphere of representative pomp and power. But the death of the monarch and its cause, and possibly the influence of Amos and Hosea, impressed Isaiah. In the thought of an empty throne another, transcendant and more august, rises before him. At the entrance to the temple, he sees a cosmic throne and God as its occupant. The seraphim with covered face and in antiphonal utterances proclaim the meaning of the nature of God. Isaiah is filled with a sense of his own uncleanness, and that of his people, with whom he identifies himself. His cleansing follows. He readily responds to the Divine appeal for a representative who will declare the Divine message, and bring the sin of the nation into the

light, and which will be followed by stern and thorough punishment; and a remnant will remain from which a better personal and national growth will begin.

It is a priestless vision. The beings who proclaim the nature of God are super-earthly; they take the place of the professional experts of an unethical and corrupting worship. The word holy is lifted out of its historical context, which was often associated with defective living, and is used to describe the inmost being of God. God is far above the limitations of the changing fortunes of the Hebrew people; His purposes are related to the universe. The hosts of the firmament are under His sway. The whole earth is the revelation of the glory of God. Nature is the external manifestation of the Divine holiness. God may be the Holy One of Israel, but Isaiah now knows that this moral relationship is only a part of the relation of God to the universe and to the whole family of man.

The vision of God is accompanied by a self-revelation and the revelation of personal duty. This duty thrusts upon the prophet the unwelcome task of telling Israel of their moral decadence with its consequent wasted cities, unoccupied dwellings and a ruined land. Their hope lies in repentance and a moral and spiritual change in which a new era will dawn. Zion cannot be overthrown, and an unwavering trust in God for security will obviate the desire and the need of weakening alliances. He is a great internationalist. He sees

clearly the unwisdom of Ahaz who, in the threatened invasion of Judah by Syria and Ephraim, refused the most definite guarantees of security if he refused to call in the aid of Assyria. Isaiah knew that any respite from Assyrian aggression will be temporary, and that in any case Syria and Ephraim would soon cease to trouble them, a forecast which proved to be correct. Later, the threatened invasion by Assyria threw the national leaders and militarists into a panic in which suggestions were made to repel the danger. The supreme solution which the prophet recommends is twofold. The first thing required is the cleansing of the national life. The rottenness of the body politic required a surgeon and not a nurse. A dexterous, nervous military diplomacy is of no avail for an unholy nation. Their hypocrisy is obvious. They lack the moral insight necessary to see that their strength and defence are in a calm and confident reliance upon God, Who will not lightly pass over their culpable moral indifference. The prophet treats now with withering scorn and now with fierce invective their feverish haste to secure an alliance with Egypt to meet the Assyrian storm. "Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses; and trust in chariots, because they are many, and in horsemen, because they are very strong; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord. . . . . Now the Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit: and when the Lord shall stretch out His hand, both he

that helpeth shall stumble, and he that is holpen shall fall, and they shall fail together" (Isa. xxxi. 1, 3). But God will protect Jerusalem, and hence they ought to return to Him from whom they have revolted.

There is thus for Israel a real value in the international interpretation by Isaiah of the foreign policy which the nation should adopt, and which no mere reforming or political insight could have provided. The prophet's judgment is rooted in his idea of the character and purpose of God. It is instructive also to observe his conception of the Divine method in using nations for beneficent ends, even though the process be rather drastic. Just as Ezekiel in the thirteenth chapter of his book teaches that God will use Babylon as "the oppressor of Israel," and as the second Isaiah asserts that Cyrus will be the Divine agent to secure the return of the nation from exile, so Isaiah perceives that Assyria will be God's instrument for the punishment of His people. "In that day will the Lord shave with a razor that is hired, which is in the parts beyond the River, even with the King of Assyria, the head and hair of his feet: and it shall also consume the beard" (Isa. vii. 20). This does not mean that the prophet regards God as an oriental despot to whom nations are pawns in the game of life. There is nothing arbitrary, capricious or callous in the Divine dealings with men. The Divine use of Assyria is not the cause of her military menace, but inasmuch as she is determined to fight, God overrules the plan for the punishment

of His people; and when the nation has been cleansed by defeat Assyria in turn will be dealt with.

That Isaiah is interested in the nations beyond Palestine, and regarded his message as essential to human well-being everywhere, is manifest in his twenty-third chapter. Tyre is the theme of the prophecy. He recognizes the commercial greatness of the city. It is an important maritime centre, "whose antiquity is of ancient days," "the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth." Its historic place in world trade continued for long generations after the prophet's age. Alexander captured the city, and carried off into slavery thirty thousand of its citizens. It quickly recovered, and, though "dominated in turn by both Egypt and Antioch, it was made a free city by Rome in 65 B.C.," and remained for some time a vast centre of mining, dye works, art and shipping. It is a tribute to the political and moral insight of Isaiah that he sees the value of Tyre to the life of the world if his message were incarnate in its citizens and commerce. But, as has often occurred, and is also taking place to-day, the city is losing its soul for the sake of wealth. The universal nature of the faith of Isaiah is revealed in his conviction that its temporary doom is sealed because it has ignored the God of righteousness, Who is the God of the whole world. Yet he believes that this eastern city will regain its commercial position after an interval of seventy years of

punishment, and will play a significant part in the ultimate international rule of God.

In the light of this larger view of the working of the Divine purpose there is no need to place some of his prophecies at a date later than his own age. Some of these passages are ii. 2-4, xi. 9-11, and xix. 23-25. Isaiah's mind is equal to the conception of these larger sketches. In the beginning of the first chapter of his prophecies he appeals to the heavens and the earth to witness to the validity of his searching diagnosis of the moral condition of the nation. Besides, whilst he sees the predatory intentions both of Assyria and Egypt he rises to a view of the future which is the beginning of a community of nations. "In that day there shall be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria; and the Egyptians shall worship with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth: for that the Lord of hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance" (Isa. xix. 23-25). This sketch of a partial League of Nations is supplemented, in the second chapter, by an even more remarkable forecast of the fellowship of peoples. "And it shall come to pass in the latter days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow into it. And many peoples shall

go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach of His ways, and we will walk in His paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge between the nations, and shall reprove many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more" (ii. 2-4). There must be a representative centre to which the nations move, and they will be morally educated in the meaning of the Divine purpose in human history, and the moral significance of national policy. From this broadcasting centre the Divine message will be transmitted to the ends of the earth. God will set up His tribunal and correct intractable communities. The mischief makers of the nations will disappear. The energies of peoples, hitherto devoted to the manufacture of weapons for slaughter, will be consecrated to the cause of agricultural pursuits. Militarism will cease. Nations will even abandon the studies necessary for war. Military colleges, army and navy departments, aristocratic military posts and preserves, and the arsenals for war equipment will be a matter of history. The relations of peoples will be changed, and harmony permanently established by the universal recognition of the authority of God, and the manifestation of an ethical practice in conformity with this obedience. This is still a dream, but it is the dream of those who stand for

the universal establishment of the Kingdom of God.

The third expression of Isaiah's international faith is in his eleventh chapter. "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. And it shall come to pass in that day that the root of Jesse, which standeth for an ensign of the peoples, unto Him shall the nations seek; and His resting place shall be glorious. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set His hand again the second time to recover the remnant of His people, which shall remain from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea" (Isa. xi. 9-11). Verses six to nine are suggestive sidelights of his survey of the future. The Messianic era will witness the subjugation of the untamed forces of nature. There is a mystic kinship with the Pauline view of the liberation of nature in the letter to the Romans (Rom. viii. 18-23). Instead of the abysmal moral ignorance of the age of Isaiah there will be under the Messianic rule the universal knowledge of God issuing in an ethical human society, and this in turn will bring about the emancipation of nature from cruelty and pain. And "the root of Jesse" will be the rallying centre for the nations.

A more rapid survey of the subsequent contributions of the Old Testament writers is necessary

owing to the limits of space, and some of the minor contributions and contributors must be passed over. Jeremiah came to his prophetic task at an eventful moment. Isaiah's faith in the inviolability of Zion had been vindicated in an earlier period, and the situation made it difficult for one who was highly sensitive. His message is a warning against the peril of a literal continuity of method in the application of truth to a changing environment. Isaiah's idea that Zion is inviolable no longer applies. It had resulted in the popularity of a blind patriotism. The people took for granted the security of Zion, and it was reserved for Jeremiah to tell them quite plainly the doom that awaited them, and its cause. The moral plight of the nation is terrible. "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so; and what will ye do in the end thereof?" (v. 31). In spite of the brag of the professional orators who have deluded the people, and who boast that Jerusalem will not be taken, Jeremiah confidently asserts that even a few broken remnants of the Chaldean army would be sufficient to take the city.

A profound national crisis is often the occasion of a higher revelation of life. The certainty of exile brought Jeremiah sharply up against a situation of epochal significance. The removal of Israel to Babylon compelled the prophet to discover a basis for religion which was independent of the accident of geography; he needs a faith which will not wither in the process of removal.

And he found it in his doctrine of the new covenant. "But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people: and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more" (xxxi. 33, 34). Jeremiah was the first to state definitely that religion is a matter of the individual soul and God. It is personal before it can be national. It is not bound up with any country or continent. As the capacity for religion is native to man, the experience of it, and the moral obligations of it, are personal. The deepest life which may be experienced by man can be known by all men. And the moral order is as universal as the biological. Truth and life for all peoples and ages are given by God, and priest and written regulations are no longer essential. This revelation of Jeremiah was the greatest step forward in the interpretation of morality and religion until, in the fulness of time, God sent forth His Son.

The prophet of personal religion sees a new significance in the moral value of his nation in his sense of the interdependence of peoples. The possibility of blessings for other nations is conditioned by the repentance, truth and righteousness of Israel (iv. 1, 2); and he looks forward with confidence to the day when the Gentile nations

will "come from the ends of the earth" confessing before God their untruthfulness and useless vanity, and giving up the gods "which yet are no gods." The Gentiles are not regarded as the sharers in the blessings, dispensed by God, in some restricted or patronizing form; they are equally with Israel to be the people of God in the new commonwealth of nations (xvi. 19-21).

The work of Jeremiah and the Book of Job prepared the way for the great work of the second Isaiah. The Hebrew seer with his people in Babylon starts with these stimulating interpretations of the inwardness of religion and the possibility of an international fellowship in which all nations share the Divine blessing; he has profited by the enriched view of the disciplinary and educational value of suffering in the Book of Job. His nation has no immediate prospect of national wealth or status, but he discovers a nobler mission for his people. It is that of becoming the agent of the redemptive purposes of God in the world. "I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth" (xlix. 6). "All the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God" (lii. 10). And it is this sacrificial function of a nation, in which the qualities of humility, an unlimited tenderness for the weak, and an invincible optimism are expressed, which is even for the twentieth century a permanent need. How different would civilization be if the ideal of national duty revealed by the prophet of the

Babylonian exile were introduced into the consciousness of the nations of Europe.

The universalism of this exile writer reappears at a later period in the Book of Jonah (iv. 11), and in the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes the Book of Daniel was probably written. The prestige of and faith in force will give place to a nobler method of realizing the unity and moral obedience of the nations. "I saw in the night visions, and, behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: and his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed" (Dan. vii. 13, 14).

CHAPTER III.

The New Testament and Internationalism.

I.—The Ethical Message of Jesus.

FOR many years scholars have been divided in their interpretation of the eschatology of Jesus. A few critics hold that Jesus anticipated the end of all things at a comparatively early date, and His teaching therefore may be regarded as a kind of interim morality to guide the people until the approaching catastrophe. Some who refuse to accept this position feel the difficulty of accounting for the unanimous expectation of the apostles of the early return of Christ after His ascension. Even Paul until at any rate the time when the Thessalonian letters were written shared this belief. It lies beyond the purpose of this book to discuss the critical questions involved in this controversy. Discussion will continue for some time until two aspects of the teachings of the teaching of Jesus are clearly seen. (1) Investigation in the exegesis of relevant passages will reach some measure of unanimity on the references to the approaching fall of Jerusalem, and those

which doubtless refer to a more representative and distant eschatology. Jesus saw that the policy of the Roman government was bound to lead to trouble sooner or later in the case of a proud and warlike people like the Jews. The delegation of Roman authority to a man like Pontius Pilate meant mischief. His planting of the Roman standard in a sacred section of the temple was only one of the numerous follies of his regime. And Jesus knew that while it would be best for His countrymen to come to terms with the Roman authorities with regard to the measure of national freedom they should be allowed they would never consent to a conference, and would refuse to the very last to recognize the Roman Empire. There would have been hope for them, in spite of the existence of Samaria between Judæa and Galilee, if they had discarded Judaism and accepted the Gospel of Christ. They made the great refusal, and in addition never saw the serious significance of His advice when a penny was brought to Him. "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." And the definite warnings of the terrible events which will overtake them form a natural part of His message. But this is quite consistent with the teaching which indicates a more permanent society and an eschatology which cannot be deleted from the idea of a moral universe. (2) The eschatology forms only a small part of the Gospel message. The profound emphasis which Jesus places upon ethical principles is suggestive of one of His main

purposes. Besides, He constantly rings the changes on the idea of the inwardness of the kingdom, and of the slow but certain realization of His rule in the world. His whole conception of God and of the relation which He sustains to God and man precludes the idea that He was in the world simply to "tide" the human race over a difficult and brief interval until the end of all things. The school which makes His eschatological teaching the root of His message logically rules Him out as a world teacher and permanent director of human society. Short views, short cuts, and the predictions of a brief interval before a disaster which is the precursor of the final end of all things are a poor certificate of reliability.

To the lover of a definite chart of human evolution the absence of any sketch in the teaching of Jesus of a framework in which human society will be shaped is a fatal omission. Why, it may be asked, if Jesus came to be the Guide of all that travel to the sky, did He not state definitely the lines upon which civilization would move? The Old Testament prophets frequently tried to induce monarchs, administrators, merchants and politicians to adopt definite programmes. The answer is that the prophets were concerned about the problems of their own time, and therefore the applications of their principles were often irrelevant at a later period when the conditions which necessitated these applications had passed away. A comparison of the work of Isaiah and Jeremiah is a clear proof of this. Further, the ideal order exists in the mind of Christ

and of the Father, but it is not necessary that the sketch of the measure of it to be realized on earth should be given. The demand for such a definite programme misses the meaning of the universal purpose of God. Such a programme would be unintelligible until men had developed to a level of personality in which the grasp of truth made the Divine order reasonable, and in the meantime all sorts of allegorical uses would be made of the chart of progress for selfish and mischievous ends. Even the modern demands which are thought to be embodied in the Sermon on the Mount are considered impossible of fulfilment, and the general message of Jesus is "watered down" to meet the convenience of those who do not wish a too exacting standard of conduct. A framework of society is always conditioned by the moral and spiritual consciousness of a given age, and especially if political freedom and a real toleration of beliefs exist. Man then gets the environment He wants. Besides, the desire for some settled plan of civilization, so dear to men like Wells, rather smacks of the passion for a mechanical uniformity. Personality, personal or collective, is too rich in versatility and initiative to warrant or require a pre-ordained scheme of things, and, because "it doth not yet appear what we shall be," any plans issued beforehand for the direction of a civilization inconceivably more satisfactory than we can even imagine would be useless. "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." The ultimate realities are Ideas, as Plato would urge. But we with a

sure faith hold that these eternal truths are valid because they are the expression in revelation of the mind and will of God as revealed by and in Jesus.

Jesus came into the world in the fulness of time. It was an age of national and international confusion, complexity, wistfulness, promise and peril. For two hundred years before Christ the Jewish nation had representatives in the known world. The three great cities of the Roman Empire, viz., Rome, Antioch and Alexandria, arranged special areas for these foreign elements. Glover states that "outside Palestine, the Jews in the great world were moving to a more purely moral conception of religion—their environment made mere Pharisaism impossible, and Greek criticism compelled them to think more or less in the terms of the fundamental."[1] The influence was not all on one side. The spiritual monotheism of these Jews, with their sense of the reality and worship of the unseen, challenged the Greeks who could only think of a god in some visible form; here and there they became converts, and the synagogue proved a useful centre for the message of Jesus and its influence in the world. Then the disappearance, under the later Emperors of Rome, of the Greek City States, though resulting in the decline of classical culture,[2] probably prepared the way for a wider range of human interest. The

[1] Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, p. 132.

[2] Inge, *Outspoken Essays, Second Series*, p. 79.

richness of Greek terminology also provided a suitable medium for the transmission of the teaching of Jesus, and the Roman Empire had created the means of world communication.

But "Galilee of the nations" provided the immediate and more cosmopolitan preparation. The popular notion that it was a land of hamlets is far from the facts. Galilee was an epitome of peoples and problems. About the size of a large English county there were in it about two hundred and fifty towns and villages, with a total population of three millions. Syrians, Greeks, Arabs and Phœnicians were there.[1] Jesus would have frequent opportunities of knowing something of the wealth of personalities and the conflicts which they illustrated. Sepphoris, which was only five miles from Nazareth, has been described as the Woolwich of Galilee, having in the days of Herod Antipas, "in one single armoury enough armour for seventy thousand men." On the shores of Galilee were "nine large cities of great magnificence and splendour." Tiberias had just been completed when Jesus began His work on the sides of the lake. Its wealth was enormous. It had a Town Council of six hundred members. No one would envy the chairman! There were other centres like Tarichæa, with immense fishing and shipbuilding interests; Gadara, a military depot, and Hippos, of royal significance. The lake and its surroundings were an important trading centre,

[1] Edith Picton-Turberville, *Christ and International Life*, pp. 39, 40.

the evenings gay with revels and pleasure, and life shadowed by the waste of wealth and immoral living.

The boyhood centre of Jesus is, as Dr. G. A. Smith says, a map of Old Testament history. On the edge of the town (it contained fifteen thousand inhabitants) there is a view of thirty miles, rich in the history of war, freedom, prophets, moral triumphs and international commerce. There could be seen, at some point, the commerce route from Egypt, "the caravans from Damascus," "the highway between Acre and Decapolis, along which legions marched, and princes swept with their retinues, and all sorts of travellers from all countries went to and fro." "All the rumour of the Empire entered Palestine close to Nazareth." "Moreover, the scandals of the Herods buzzed up and down these roads; pedlars carried them, and the peripatetic Rabbis would moralize upon them. The customs, too, of the neighbouring Gentiles—their loose living, their sensuous worship, their absorption in business, . . all this would furnish endless talk in Nazareth, both among men and boys."[1]

No part of the world could have furnished a finer or more testing international school of history, peoples, trades, travellers, potentates, military gossip and symbol, creeds, outlooks, depressions and hopes. And round Jesus through the growing years were, too, the symbols and interpreters of

[1] G. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 433, 434.

Judaism, with a faith rigid, exclusive, uniform, combining the worship of God with the hate of man, a hate made increasingly intense by alien domination since the Exile days, and a traditional resolve to preserve the faith from any association with extraneous beliefs. Jesus was also prepared for His work by the revelation of God in the Old Testament, whose truths He studiously read and later completed in His "brief yet eternal speech." And when He began His ministry He knew the types of races in the Near East, and the urgent ethical and international need of men.

The fundamental feature in His message is Himself. "The centre in the new religion is not an idea, not a ritual act, but a personality." Celsus may claim that Plato taught the chief elements of Christianity, and the Talmud may contain a parallel to many of the sayings of Jesus, but He is the unique fact of His faith. "*He* was new. If we are to understand the movement, we must in some degree realize Him—in Himself and in His influence upon men."[1] He is eternally necessary. His words and works, and His death and resurrection are the articulation of His mind, will and purpose. Dr. Dale unconsciously undervalued the worth of His teaching when he said that Christianity would continue if the Gospels disappeared. It is quite certain that the evangelical unity of the faithful would be impaired, and a vicious ingenuity would endanger the essential message. The Gospels

[1] Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the early Roman Empire*, p. 116.

are the permanent and fundamental exegesis of the mind of Jesus.

Jesus knew Himself to be the Messiah, and He was aware of the emancipating function attached to the word in contemporary Jewish thought. He wins our confidence at once in His decisive attitude in His temptation after the Baptism. The third process in the struggle is important for our purpose. In the first and second He had overcome the inducement to make His inward convictions depend on external demonstration, mastered the appeal to use His power for personal satisfaction, and scorned the temptation to allow popularity to take the place of obedience to natural law. The last of the three tests is an eloquent proof of the universal kingdom He came to establish. Temptations always match the range of our personality. Jesus knew the international situation. The ethical battle of the universe was epitomized in that moment, as well as the historic fate of a moral internationalism. It is the struggle of an implicit omnipotence at the disposal of demoniacal direction and control against the fundamental method of obedience to the will of God. Jesus in His triumph teaches that the moral commonwealth of nations is in the worship and service of God. What that worship and service imply is written in the language of an ethical completeness and spiritual comprehension which entitle Him to be the Director of all the ages.

The reader may be referred to the memorable treatment of this point by Fairbairn, in his

Philosophy of the Christian Religion, in which he deals with the ethical transcendance of Jesus.

Next to His ethical place and function in Christianity is His doctrine of the Fatherhood of God. Lake and Foakes Jackson regard this idea as "a characteristically Jewish doctrine. . . . . The God of Jesus and of His disciples is identical with the God of the Jews."[1] The Old Testament and the Apocrypha contain statements in which the word Father and some of the ideas for which the word stand are used. This, however, is not the important thing. On the lips of Jesus the word assumes an unique significance. "Christ does not merely shift the emphasis, making the idea of fatherhood more prominent than it was before. By His concentration on this one term He showed that He had a new conception of God. And just because there can be nothing more far-reaching in its influence on the life and thought of mankind than a true idea of what God is like, we are abundantly justified in finding in this new conception the heart of His revelation. Much else there is, but it all follows in the end from this postulate."[2] The soul of His message was His revelation of the Fatherhood of God in His speech and in His unique filial consciousness.

It is this central truth which, above all others, makes His revelation indispensable for the world. God is man's Father; man is God's son. The bond, created in the eternal purpose, and incarnate

[1] *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I., p. 401.

[2] Dougall and Emmet, *The Lord of Thought*, p. 234.

in human personalities, is an enduring symbol of relationship. The kinship is indestructible and universal. Milton's lines in *Paradise Regained* ring true :

> " The Son of God I also am, and was ;
> And if I was, I am ; relation stands."

The sin of the son cannot annul the bond, though sin may mar the spiritual experience involved in it. Races and grades of civilization as such do not increase or lessen the fundamental value of every man and woman and child. The toiler, the slum-dweller, the negro and the yellow peoples stand in the same relation to God as the European. This is the great truth of the Christian ethic, and the central principle of a true internationalism. Its implications with regard to the duty of individuals and nations are not seen in their full significance yet. We require for this a higher order of parenthood and filial consciousness. These relationships are too often blurred by legal, economic and polygamous associations. One of the welcome results of a more ethical home life in the nations will be the enrichment of the human consciousness in the knowledge of the Divine Fatherhood.

This doctrine of God reveals sin in its inmost meaning. All forms of wrong, whether in the secret areas of the inner life or on the field of action, are then regarded as wrong done to the Father. Sin is the violation of eternal love rather than the refusal to obey abstract law. Besides, sin is wrong done to the sons of the Father. It

is treason against brotherhood. Injustice, lying, stealing, evil motive, tyranny, selfishness, cynicism and hatred are terrible in their nature and effects because they produce suffering for the Father's children. They shadow and ruin the universal home. The day will arrive in the life of the race when the petty deterrents of sin by financial punishment or a temporary exile in buildings will be superseded by an inward horror at the very thought of paining God and the sons of God. At present the view of wrong is financial, political, racial, scientific. These aspects require the idea of the Divine Fatherhood to widen, deepen and spiritually enrich the moral judgment and thus discover their moral significance.

Jesus knew that the realisation of a satisfactory human society would be a tremendous task, and that the only means to this goal was the programme of the kingdom of God. Wendt says that this kingdom involves the acceptance of the Fatherly love of God and the practice of righteousness in conformity with this belief. The frequently debated question whether the kingdom is within us or among us overlooks the value of both aspects. The alternatives are unnecessary. They supplement and complete each other.

The kingdom of God involves, in the first place, the rule of God in the individual life. It is primarily a personal experience, and this is why it will ultimately be universal. The secret of a universal brotherhood is the possession of a common life. In the kingdom of God the natural

oneness implied in physical and intellectual resemblances is consummated in the unity of redemptive experience. The command to repent reveals the condition of entrance into the kingdom. It was not a call to rebellion or resistance. The problem of the Roman domination of His race was not a main issue. It was the call to a new way of thinking about God, and a new order of living. Entrance into it is by birth, otherwise its value cannot be seen or experienced. It is primarily biological. The stress is on life. The life of Jesus must be in those who enter the kingdom.

The Christian ethic therefore begins in the individual heart. The life within must conform to the laws involved in its development, and in its manifestation in attitude and conduct. The Christian must live in harmony with absolute demands. These are not arbitrary regulations; they spring out of the essential conditions of fellowship with the Father, and have therefore a universal significance. This is the point at which the supreme conflict of morality will always arise, and the choice of loyalty or disloyalty to the fundamental demands of Christ in the crises of life or in the quiet processes of ordinary duty will morally *place* each soul. Jesus knew, however, that there would arise a new quality of experience through unswerving loyalty to Him when the tasks which seem on first acquaintance to be impossible would present no serious difficulty. What seems to the unspiritual mind to be an impracticable idealism is the result of the judgment

divorced from spiritual energy and vision. Besides, difficulties naturally arise in the precise value to be attached to certain statements of Jesus which He addressed to individuals. Did He intend the utterances to be personal merely, or are they, like the more representative utterances, to be regarded as universal in their application? For example, was the command to the rich young ruler to sell all that he had, intended to apply to every man of wealth? Other difficulties are due to the Tolstoyan method of stressing certain aspects of the teaching and neglecting equally important principles stated in other connections. It is the peril of undue literalism and a motived or unconscious specialism, due partly to the ethical atmosphere of a generation, and often to the national environment in which the interpreter lives. The emphasis, on the whole, is best laid upon the great principles of the teaching of the Master, and leave their application by the individual and corporate Christian conscience to the changing conditions of each generation. The Christian ethic is absolute. For example, the demand for goodness, forgiveness and self-discipline brooks no exception.

The moral leadership of the world will ultimately be in the hands of men and communities who practise the principles of the kingdom. The time will be conditioned by the operative power of their faith. The highest blessedness is theirs who are conscious of their inward poverty, who recognize in God their source of life, who mourn over the wasted years and the vision of civilization without

its Mate, who are meek, passionate in their longing for righteousness, merciful, pure, peacemakers, and who suffer reproach and public indictment for the sake of righteousness in the earth and for the sake of Jesus. These features of a true man are not simply personal in their significance. Take by way of illustration one of these Beatitudes. "The meek shall inherit the earth." Jesus is not referring to an abstract area when He uses the word "earth." It stands for soil, food, commercial value in its minerals and as an abode for persons. It is a mystic text-book also. It is a source of poetry, art, music and religion. Civilization would be a poor thing if the rhetoric and mystic suggestiveness of the earth were removed from the soul. The greatest values of nature are intangible rather than commercial. There is no frontier in nature. Man has missed its united aims. It is the centre of immeasurable forces. As the temporal dwelling-place of our cosmic journey it is fed by sun and rain which are unrelated to our passion for frontiers and monopolies. A selfish and often non-moral commercialism is worlds away from the challenging and enduring frontierlessness and generosity of nature. Flowers bloom and birds sing where guns boom and men die. The earth is a constant indictment of vengeance and hate. In its larger aspects it does not countenance the unworthiness of dealing out morality on a method of patronage or equivalents. When Jesus taught men to love their enemies and pray for their persecutors His arguments were taken from the

method of God in nature. "He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust," and Jesus held that we should act as God does in order to enjoy the spiritual blessedness of sonship.

Only the meek shall inherit the earth. Meekness is not a passive, bloodless quality of life. It is a life of immense energy and iron endurance mastered and directed to great ends and for a worthy purpose. The earth will not necessarily be permanently manipulated by races or nations solely upon blood rights. The material and mystic inheritance of the earth will be held by the international brotherhood of personalities whose life and corporate action are controlled for the ends of the Kingdom of God. And though, as we will endeavour to explain later, nationality is a useful instrument for the realisation of a world commonwealth, yet the new world operations of science and international government, and the internationalism of breeds now epitomized on American soil point suggestively to an ethical order of society when international policy may be in the hands of those who have transcended the merely provisional limits of nationalism.

Jesus placed great value on the peacemaker. He was not an apprentice in words. "Never man spake like this Man." His emphasis on the harmonizing function is suggestive. The qualities of the Beatitudes must be taken in conjunction with those mentioned in the other parts of His teaching. Peacemaking must be a personal

experience. It requires an inward unity of life, the possession of the peace of God that passeth all understanding, "a heart at leisure from itself," "a thoughtful love" and "a mind to blend with outward life." Inward harmony requires love to God and man, and the whole man must love, including the love of the mind. The outlook on men must be kindly, large, unfettered, and unpoisoned by the communal mood or the changing attitudes of peoples to each other. R. L. Stevenson once prayed: "Preserve us, O Lord, from any lurking grudge." The Lord's Prayer implies that we request that our own forgiveness of others should condition the measure of God's forgiveness of us. "We do forgive quite constantly and habitually all sorts of little failings and stupidities in those we like; that is, we like them in spite of these. Our pleasure in them and kindness to them do not vary because of their misdemeanours. The greatest need of human beings is the need of each other, and that is why, when any two people satisfy each other's need, forgiveness is a matter of course."[1] The granting of it may be conditioned by the moral attitude of the offender, but the willingness to forgive has no numerical or time limits. And for a very good reason. Long before seventy times seven has been reached the practice will have become a joy and the offender probably won over. In any case, human revenge or vindictiveness has no place in Christian ethics.

The peacemaker must aim at the unifying of

[1] Dougall and Emmet, *The Lord of Thought*, p. 192.

individuals, families, communities and nations. Jesus insisted upon a loving interest in men in all lands. The disciple should be on the side of the men, forces, ideas and programmes which cement grades of society, and espouse the principles of peace on earth and goodwill among those in whom God is well pleased. They ought to be *makers* of peace, and not simply advocates of it. Jesus has no place for the interpreters and leaders who pay lip homage to phrases, and simply indulge in periodic outbursts of vocal loyalty to the ideal of a brotherhood of nations. The peacemaker must seek fellowship in thought and action with other peacemakers in every land. The international fellowship of redemptive harmonists is the way of Jesus.

The difficulty of this work is acute when immense blocks of human beings termed nations declare war upon each other. Unfortunately, the makers of peace are not yet sufficiently numerous or powerful in any nation to direct governments when a crisis requiring dispassionate examination arises. It is all the more necessary that those who seek peace should be unwearying in their propaganda in the days of calm, and create as far as in them lies the reasoned spiritual resolve in others to declare war on war.

The possessors of the Beatitudes are the salt of the earth and the light of the world. They preserve human society from decay. They are the light of the world. This light is domestic. It is the candle in the house. It is communal. It is the mystic fellowship of luminous souls on the uplands of strength and impressiveness. It is

international. There are no geographical or racial limitations to the light bringers. Many aspects of civilization in relation to knowledge are purely local in their application. Laws of land, government, disputes and industrial activities, and even language and customs are usually national only in their value. But the Beatitudes are valid and binding, and luminous everywhere in their processes and results. They form part of the timeless and universal text-book of action and experience, and are understood at once in every land. The Hindu may not be profoundly moved by Western theology; he never fails to respond to a ministry of goodwill, mercy, kindness, sacrifice and peace. The African may hesitate before accepting the statement of the Gospel; he is always impressed by medical missions which relieve suffering. The hardy sons of the lands of ice and the dusky offspring of the tropics alike read quite easily the language of love and pity and tenderness.

It is obvious "that the interest which was primary in the heart and mind of Jesus was the bringing of men into a right relation with God. The consummation is not for Him a mere supernatural portent, but the triumph of the rule of God—that is, the reconciliation of man and God. The kingdom is the kingdom of God."[1]

It is from this standpoint that we ought to study the searching appeal of His versatile presentation of human duties in their inward meaning and outward expression. His teaching on the

[1] Hughes, *The Kingdom of Heaven*, p. 108.

value of women, in an age when they were regarded lightly, is remarkable. He said that every man who in thought lusted after a woman was an adulterer. He would be no party to the pitiless punishment of women who sacrificed their purity and honour. His treatment of His mother in youth, and at the very end of His life, has enhanced for all time the dignity of motherhood. His visits to Bethany and His appreciation of the donor of the ointment as an unconscious preparation for His Cross illustrate the value which He placed upon their life, and this value is in striking contrast to the Greek and Roman estimate of women. "In Greece women never occupied the high place she was assigned among the Jews and Romans. Although the Greek believed in monogamy he never held his wife in honour."[1] Angus also reminds us that "Seneca tells of women who marked their chronology by the names of their husbands rather than by the consuls. Marriage lost its sanctity: it was lightly entered upon because easily annulled." Buddhism has never given any but the most inferior place to women. Mohammedanism was always the gospel of female degradation. The international value of the message of Jesus on this subject is apparent in view of the modern situation. One of the most difficult problems of the League of Nations is that of dealing effectively with the appalling traffic in women and children in all lands. Even in one part of the British Empire a sort of semi-slavery

[1] Angus, *The Environment of Early Christianity*, p. 44.

in Chinese girls was carried on until recently. Further, the growing laxity in matrimonial morality and the increasing facilities for divorce call for serious attention on the part of all lovers of the Christian ideal. The teaching of Jesus is the more valuable because He regarded marriage as a purely earthly arrangement (Matt. xxii. 23-33). It is an indispensable means of discipline, fellowship and domestic and racial continuity. And this is quite consistent with the position that the enduring bonds of humanity are independent of blood, pedigree and death (Mark iii. 31-35). A salutary hint of the highest moral obligations is given to a man who, when he desired to follow the Master, but wanted permission to go first and bury his father, was told, "Let the dead bury their dead" (Matt. viii. 22). The foreign mission field has its loyal toilers who put the claims of Christ before every other consideration (Luke xiv. 26).

The love of God and man, and the duty of bringing personality and its relationships into conformity with the rule of God are the regulating principles which Jesus employs in His interpretations of special aspects of moral obligations. There is first of all His teaching on wealth. In the progress of society the moral aspect of the possession and use of wealth will receive increasing attention. Some of His hints on the subject were obviously meant for an imperfect state of human society. For example, the command, "Give to him that asketh thee, etc," must be conditioned in its personal aspect by the arrangements that a

nation makes for its poor. Unemployment and sickness insurance and pensions for the evening of life did not exist at that time. Still, where wealth is abundant real cases of need should never be turned away. And every individual is morally obliged to do his utmost for the creation of a national and international spirit in which otherwise unavoidable poverty will be relieved. There is no evidence in the mind of Jesus that He regarded property, business and possessions as evils in themselves. Some of His parables assume the right to possess and use wealth (Matt. xxv. 4). The story of Zacchæus is suggestive. The chief tax-gatherer arranged to give fifty per cent. of his possessions to the poor and four hundred per cent. compensation to any man who could prove that he had exacted undue taxation from him. "And Jesus said unto him, To-day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham." But this salvation was granted to one who would have possessions left after his disbursements of wrongfully exacted wealth. Besides, if Jesus did not believe in personal possessions "He could hardly have justly advised the young ruler to sell what was really not his, or have suggested that he should induce another to accept for money what it was unlawful for him to retain."[1]

He asked His disciples to believe that the Father knew the physical needs of His children. Sparrows are noticed when they fall; the birds of

[1] Alexander, Art. on Wealth, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII., p. 723.

the air receive their food from the Father. Lilies unmatched in their beauty by ancient royal splendour are clothed by God. Jesus therefore warns His followers against undue anxiety because of its uselessness, and its incompatibility with a childlike faith in God. But this teaching does not absolve the followers of the Lord from the duty of giving thought and strength to the spiritual and economic reconstruction of the world. Indeed, the sure way of destroying worry is the creation of a world order of social justice and practical brotherhood in which worry would be an obsolete mood.

Yet Jesus regarded great wealth as a grave moral danger. "The deceitfulness of riches," is one of the forces that chokes the word (Matt. xiii. 22). He denounces the piling up of wealth for purely personal ends (Matt. vi. 19), and a man cannot serve God and mammon. When a certain man requested Him to arbitrate in his financial relations with his brother Jesus informed him that His function was not that of an administrator of wealth, and "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." If covetousness were removed the problem would disappear. (Luke xii. 13-15). If, as seems likely, the injunction to the rich young ruler to sell his possessions and give the proceeds of the sale to the poor is more a personal than a universal duty, it is plain from what follows that the possession of riches does create a serious moral struggle. For when the ruler heard the mandate, and "became

exceeding sorrowful," Jesus, seeing him, said, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God." This is true; history and observation confirm it. "For it is easier for a camel to enter through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God" (Luke xxiii. 23-25). Jesus is not referring to the man who is actually under the Divine rule, but to him who is not subject to it, and who finds the demands upon his possessions too exacting to submit to the authority of God. There is a psychological as well as a religious reason for this reluctance. The powers by which a man acquires wealth are not those which produce generosity. This latter function requires the cultivation of another set of powers which are not operative until after entrance into the kingdom.

In the mind of Jesus "wealth is everywhere regarded in reference to man's relation to God. It has thus a twofold significance. It is a trust and a test. There is no such thing as absolute ownership."[1] If only the magnates of the nations, and every person in them, could be induced to use their possessions for the highest ends of the kingdom the evils of war, commercial corruption, class legislation and unwarrantable poverty would be speedily solved. Senseless personal and public extravagance would be a thing of the past, and a new interest in the causes of art, music, education and foreign missions aroused. The international

[1] Alexander, Art. on Wealth, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII., p. 723.

cliques who manipulate and poison international relationships, cook and gag journalism, and inflate prices through trusts and the dexterous use of war and rumours of war would have no motive for their work.

It is necessary to see the relation of the Christian ethic to work. The Jew was not lazy; he did not regard manual labour as menial. His active temperament was stimulated by his soil and climate and his faith. "The ample Syrian temperature," "provides the conditions which breed a hardy and elastic frame of body. The national type . . . . was certain to prove at once tough and adaptable." "In the Palestine year there is no inevitableness," and "is regular enough to provoke men to methodical labour for its fruits, but the regularity is often interrupted." The Hebrew saw in his land, not the faiths of the neighbouring nations, but "the reminder that man does not live by the bread of the year alone."[1]

Jesus was the child of the poor. He was one of the multitude whose university was amid the scenes of struggle, anxiety and the blend of ecstacies and tragedies. Out of a brief life of thirty-three years only three were given to His public ministry; the rest were spent after childhood in arduous manual labour. Probably the comparatively early widowhood of his mother threw the financial responsibility for the maintenance of the home upon her eldest son, and probably, as Glover hints,

[1] G. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 72, 73, 76.

this was one reason for the late inauguration of His ministry. The inner life of the masses can only be fully known by those who have shared their daily experience. There, in a special sense, are the complex aspects of civilization. There, are penury, pathos, the mixture of nobleness, meanness, morbidity, monotony, the fine outbursts of sympathy in the knowledge of a common struggle and sorrow, and the unvoiced longings for a noble escape which awaits the better environment and the messenger of sympathy, hope and effective salvation. The detached and competent cynic may see in this massed undeveloped humanity the suggestions of revolution and wild irrationalism. They who know the sin, sorrow, suffering and dreams of the poor believe in the venture of grace.

We are not surprised that Luke describes a memorable Sabbath appearance of Jesus in the synagogue, and, true to the universalism of Paul, especially dwells upon the section of the Old Testament which He read.

It is an international lesson from Isaiah:

> "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
> Because He hath anointed me to preach glad tidings to the poor;
> He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives,
> And recovering of sight to the blind,
> To set at liberty them that are bruised,
> To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."—Luke iv. 18, 19.

It is a message of fundamental cheer for the world, a gift of comprehensive freedom, a gift of eyes and of healing for damaged lives. Its personal and

social implications contain the elements of universal reconstruction. Jesus is the pledge of His Gospel and ethic. He is its embodiment, and the Director of its operations, and His ministry finely interpreted His pledge. He fed the thousands who were hungry. "He suggested the payment of a day's wage for an hour's work, where a day's food was needed and only an hour's work could be had; He even reminded a too happy father that the little girl would be the better for food. No thinker of His day, or for long before or after, was so deeply conscious of the appeal of sheer misery, and this is one of the things on which His followers have never lost the mind of Jesus." This humanitarian attitude with a spiritual dynamic is the urgent need of the world.

The labour of the Græco-Roman world was slave labour. "Le Maistre reckons 60,000,000 in the Empire. In Pergamum there was one slave to every two freemen. In the city of Rome the proportion was undoubtedly much greater. Beloch reckons 280,000 slaves to 500,000 free, Gibbon reckons as many slaves as free in the time of Claudius, Blair guesses the number of slaves and free to be equal to the destruction of Carthage, and after that the proportion to be 3 to 1, giving a population of 20,000,000 slaves in Italy. Zumpt reckons over 650,000 slaves in Rome in 5 B.C.[1] He also gives striking examples of the enormous number of slaves held by monarchs and others. The life of the slave was more terrible in Greece than in Rome. Cruelty

[1] Angus, *The Environment of Early Christianity*, p. 38.

usually brutalizes the agent, and the traffic in human flesh was one of the causes of the ultimate ruin of Rome.

The message of Jesus came with amazing force to the people of His age, and to the generations after. His ethical emphasis on human worth and human rights as well as obligations, and of the equality of all men proved to be the introduction of a new era of the progressive liberation of the world, and is still the message for the healing and vision and freedom of the whole human race. The old forms of slavery have disappeared. The nations need the message of emancipation from more subtle tyrannies, and, in their deeper processes, more ruinous in their effects. The consciousness of physical freedom has too long blinded men to the economic, military and educational limitations of the modern world. But these are only manifestations of the more radical need of the spiritual and moral liberation of every man and woman. The industrial and political thraldoms are at bottom religious and ethical.

Jesus also recognized that there is a place in the redemption of the world for the State. Indeed, within its own province He recognized the place of a legitimate authority in government as long as it served a useful purpose He acknowledged the duty of paying the money due to Cæsar, and would know the enormous influence which the Jewish nation could wield if its consciousness could be cleansed, and its moral outlook improved. The Roman Empire, though seriously defective in its

treatment of subject races, especially after a war, and though hated by the Jews because of the fleecing of the people through the allowance of extortionate demands in the collection of taxation, was nevertheless capable of generous treatment where the subject races were wise enough to adopt tactful policies. But Jesus saw the inevitable doom which awaited the Jews because of their unwise national attitude to Rome.

But nationality was not the supreme consideration. National hatreds in His time seemed to be part of the accepted order of society. His own disciples shared the common hatred of the Samaritans, and on one occasion asked the Master to exterminate the dwellers in one of their villages. The Jewish attitude to the Samaritans is expressed in the Jewish saying: "A morsel of bread from a Samaritan is as swine's flesh." The Roman contempt for the Jew is proverbial. Cicero and Seneca throw restraint to the winds when referring to them. Seneca says, "This miserable and criminal nation has spread over the whole world, carrying its customs with it." The Jew was also an expert in proud and bitter repartee.

The world in which Jesus lived was an epitome of the hatreds, suspicions and fierce struggles of peoples, and nothing but a person and a message which ignored these attitudes would be of any use. The way out for human society must be by a universal Gospel and a moral programme for the individual and the community in which humanity is the supreme consideration. He put His own

faith into practice and it worked. When He met a Samaritan woman at an historic well He set up at once a point of contact. She was surprised that He should speak to a woman of an alien blood, and belonging to a people held in bitter contempt by His own race. Jesus found an unseen meal in the joy of her conversion, and the result of her immediate evangelistic work. It is the same food which sustains men yet who ignore national hatreds in the interests of humanity. It was a military captain in the Roman army who revealed a faith in Jesus which He declared had not been equalled among the Jews, and who also revealed a personal interest in his slave which made him a citizen of the kingdom of God. His treatment of the Syro-Phœnician woman, a Greek probably from Tyre, the world city by the sea, is indicative of the same unlimited interest in human beings. The disciples, expecting that He would regard her approach as an intrusion, said, "Send her away." Even Matthew describes her as "a Canaanitish woman." To Jesus she was a mother with a deep concern for her daughter. Her willingness to be content with the crumbs of blessing which He may permit her to receive wins His love, and her daughter was cured. On one occasion He used the illustrations of the repentance of Nineveh and the response of the Queen of Sheba to the wisdom of Solomon to enforce His conviction that the response to the Divine appeal was sometimes greater by those who belonged to other nations than by Israel. He in resistless logic points out to them that loving men

irrespective of any consideration whatever is the only way to act as God expects. "Suppose you love those only who love you in return there is no special merit in that, is there? Quite disreputable people rival you there. Or if you are friends only with the people of your own set, that implies nothing more than average good nature; the very heathen are equal to that. You are to be God's men; your love is to be as catholic as His."[1]

The kingdom of God is not an organization. It does not come with observation. It is the mobilisation of men everywhere who are pledged in changed life and spiritual consecration to the welfare of humanity and the glory of God. Its field is the world. He confidently predicted that His Gospel would be preached in the whole world (Matt. xxvi. 13). His followers were to make disciples of all the nations. In the final consummation all nations will be gathered before Him, and the tests of the inheritance of the blessings of the kingdom prepared from the foundation of the world will be those which are humanitarian and practical, and the work done will be inspired by the love of the doer for Christ. These tests are the language of universal action. He said that if He were lifted up from the earth He would draw all men unto Himself. This confidence is in harmony with the music of the cosmic heralds of His birth. Star and angels are the media of guidance to the place where He begins. The wisdom of the East brings its gifts to the manger. Shepherds

[1] Findlay, *The Realism of Jesus*, p. 16.

whose home is in the bosom of nature form the startled evening congregation who listen to the music which the new Person will beat out in the processes of redemptive history. There will be no peace on earth until there is goodwill among men. Subsequent events make the introductory announcements impressive. Simeon is a sample of the unregistered souls who were waiting for a revelation of God. To him had been promised a vision of the Lord's Christ. His expected Visitor came. The parents brought the Child into the temple, and Simeon, taking Him into his arms, expressed his faith in the mission of Jesus. He was the Bringer of the salvation prepared for all peoples, Gentile and Jew alike. The pioneer work of the Baptist was epitomized in His use of the prophecy of Isaiah that all flesh would see the salvation of God in Him for whom He was preparing the way.

Jesus knew that the realisation of His purpose would involve suffering. The facts of human nature and the condition of human society constitute an unescapable sacrifice for the spokesmen and doers of the will of God. Sacrifice is the law of the universe. It is the law for Christ. "The hour is come that the Son of man should be glorified." It is the law, too, of nature. "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth by itself alone." It is the law of the spiritual man. Life is lost by concentration on self alone, and regard for others is the secret of eternal self-realisation. Self-discipline is necessary in order to make order out of the mass of raw material in the

natural man, and to bring experience into ordered obedience to the will of Jesus. "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me" (Matt. xvi. 24). Life to Him was a transcendently glorious thing, and the realisation of a race of disciplined redeemed personalities within an ever improving fellowship was the task to which He pledged Himself, and that task will not be given up until the full purpose of it is complete. "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John iii. 16). Browning's lines in "A Death in the Desert" are profoundly true.

> "I say the acknowledgment of God in Christ, accepted by the reason,
> Solves for thee all the problems in the earth and out of it."

The death of Christ was more than the price that souls pay who are loyal to truth. It was more than the sequel to the clash of a lover of men against the entrenched forces of reaction. The humanitarianism of the age is the direct fruit of the influence of Christ, but it is in danger of interpreting the Cross only from the manward angle. The whole history of Christ was the expression of the Divine effort at reconciliation, for all the world problems of the present and the future depend for their solution upon the creation and permanent establishment of a redemptive union between God and man. His work *cannot* be explained by fitting it into a mere scheme of evolution; for the whole genius and value of Christian ethics imply the ceaseless efforts

to build a world-wide commonwealth upon the only basis upon which it can be erected, viz., the basis of the creative and directive action of Christ in the individual. No religious system other than that which He revealed can survive. His work was and is "the act of God." He is in history what He is in nature. He is creative, regulative, the light and life of men. He and what He said and did and does still become therefore salvation and example. He renews, challenges, disturbs, and provides the only standard of action. This standard is the text-book of God; it is interpreted in the speech of universal man and in the representative Man.

II.—The Ethical Message of the Apostles.

THE Kingdom of God cometh not with observation, but fellowship for its advance is indispensable, and Jesus knew that His disciples formed the nucleus of a new order of human society. Where men are free, and moved by noble aims, life creates its own forms, though institutional forms illustrate the difficulty which arises from the fact that history works in men as well as life.

It was fortunate for the early periods of the apostolic fellowship that events compelled a severance from perilous compromises. The death of Jesus and His subsequent appearances to individuals and groups of disciples strengthened the conviction

that they should retain their fellowship. His valedictory utterances still further strengthened the bond. He was the delegated authority in heaven and on earth. His right and His seat of government transcended earthly consultations and sanctions. They must preach His Gospel and make disciples of all nations. They must go into ever widening areas, beginning at Jerusalem, and reach the uttermost parts of the earth. The ethical and spiritual seed would flourish in every soil. The hour of beginning would strike through the compulsion of life and the gifts of fire and speech. Their equipment would be prophetic of the new order of men and the new enthusiasm for humanity. The sequel vindicated the message. The Holy Ghost was given without priestly sanction or national permission, and on the great festival day. Before a crowd of people from many nations Peter utters the message which came from his inner life. The new power is finding in him new means of expression. The geographical range of converts indicated the international destiny of the Gospel.

Experiences and events quickly reveal the startling universalism of men who but a few years before were rigid nationalists. The second rank men broke loose from the old order. Stephen's speech reaches the horizons of the ethical and spiritual purpose of God as seen from an inward emancipation and exaltation. Christianity destroyed a paralysing ecclesiasticism, and compelled its advocates to discard timidity. Peter's escape from

exclusiveness was hastened by his visit to an Italian centurion, who, though a military representative of Rome, was a fine blend of religion and morality. He was a devout man, with a religious home, and a practical sympathy for the poor. Peter's confession as the result of the interview is a classic instance of the internationalism of a holy fellowship. "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to Him" (Acts x. 34, 35). Peter's complete liberation was a matter of time and the result of an increasing ethical understanding of Christianity. The dream of the sheet and its contents, and its interpretation led him to the recognition of one of the great moral truths of the Gospel, viz., the equality of Jew and Gentile in the new life in Christ.

The Apostles as a whole reveal a progressive movement towards the universal outlook. Their love for Christ and the struggle against the reactionary ecclesiastical forces provided the opportunity to express their universal faith. Their sympathy for the poor, the handing over by Barnabas of his possessions, and the convictions held for some time that all material resources should be regarded as a trust for the common good, strengthened the belief that they were sharers in a common life.

It is to Paul that we mainly look for the representative illustration in the apostolic days of the value of the Christian ethic for the world. Several

obvious considerations marked him off as the special expositor of the place and purpose of Christ in history and in the universe. His birthplace was the "Græco-Roman Tarsus," which provided him with a centre of culture in early life where he could acquire a knowledge of Greek, and which also ensured the rights of Roman citizenship. He afterwards went to Jerusalem, where he received a special education as a Pharisee. He, as no other apostle, was humanly fitted to plumb the depths of Judaism, and to know something of the Græco-Roman world.[1] His intrepid, eager, alert and analytical mind, allied to a strenuous sincerity, enabled him to explore the possibilities of the faith of his nation. It is not surprising that he was chosen as the rising hope of a stern and unbending Judaism, but his faith was undermined in three ways. (1) The martyrdom of Stephen and the life and sufferings of the followers of Christ impressed him. (2) He became increasingly aware of the inability of the law to bring him peace and life. The law demanded an obedience he could not give, because the sin in him used it to defeat his unaided efforts. Judaism created in him wretchedness rather than deliverance. (3) His difficulty in accepting Christ lay in the manner of His death. The final overthrow of his faith came when Christ met him on the road to Damascus. His conversion was decisive. Christ therefore was the end of the law and the completion of the promise, the fulfilment of the

[1] Beyschlag, *New Testament Theology*, Vol. II., pp. 2-7.

central aim of God in the origin and history of man. From that moment his life was at the disposal of Christ and His international purpose. "But when it was the good pleasure of God, who separated me, even from my mother's womb, and called me through His grace, to reveal His Son in me, that I might preach Him among the Gentiles; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me: but I went away into Arabia; and again I returned unto Damascus" (Gal. i. 15-17).

His view of God and man and their essential relationship was entirely changed. Considerations of blood and race assume a subordinate significance. "Henceforth know we no man after the flesh." It is man everywhere as the potential son of God, with immediate access to the experience of eternal life through union with Christ that he sees. Their common sin and status, and then their new destiny in Christ become a living faith. Nationality is a secondary matter. "There can be neither Jew nor Gentile, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." And this spiritual oneness rests upon the idea that God is the Creator of the human race. "The God that made the world and all things therein, He being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is He served by men's hands, as though He required anything, seeing He Himself giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; and He made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the

face of the earth" (Acts xvii. 24-26). The oneness of humanity in creation and the possible oneness of men in the love and grace of Christ made the historic cause of national exclusiveness seem trivial. "For neither is circumcision anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creature" (Gal. vi. 15). For Paul the blood question did not exist, for the simple reason that Christ regarded all men as capable of sharing His life.

Paul, therefore, is the great example of the mind and purpose of Christ. He took from the beginning a broad view of the reach of the Gospel. Like a master strategist he seized upon the great centres of population and influence, viz., Jerusalem, Athens, Rome and the other key places for aggressive work. All nations are alike to him. He is the servant of humanity, and the expositor of the life and truth for men. He does not sketch an outline of a new social order, and for good reasons. His letters were usually written to deal with some urgent matter. He probably shared with his colleagues the idea of the early return of Christ, though, after the period of the Thessalonian letters the more profound aspects of the purpose of Christ emerged. Besides, a drastic written or vocal scheme, in which Paul would have urged the immediate practical application of his gospel to local situations, irrespective of consequences, would have been fatal to his plans, and caused terrible suffering to his converts. If, for example, he had stimulated the slaves to revolt, in order to claim their right to equality and freedom, it would have

resulted in massacres in every centre where there were Christian slaves. Paul had not an ounce of craven opportunism in his nature, but he saw the unwisdom of a vast upheaval of men before the moral and spiritual forces were sufficiently powerful to secure the fruits of it and inaugurate a constructive alternative.

In four main aspects he urged a blend of idealism and practical wisdom, viz., the relations of Jews and Gentiles, master and slave, husband and wife, and the value and place of the State. He never wavered in his faith that bloods are all alike valuable in the sight of God, and Jesus by His Cross had destroyed the partition which history had set up between the Jew and Gentile. The historic place of the Jew in revelation was not based upon an arbitrary plan ; he was chosen to be the custodian and agent of a message intended for the whole world. He also taught that men were equal, and entitled to the freedom which is to be known in Christ, but he saw clearly the need of allowing his message time to work in the human conscience. Hence he advises the slaves to aim at efficiency and obedience. He restores Onesimus to Philemon, and offers compensation for any loss sustained. The position of women in Paul's time was extraordinarily difficult, and the first Epistle to the Corinthians reveals the delicate situation which confronted him there. Questions of detail to us had a far reaching influence in Paul's time. The question of the veil, for example, he treats tactfully. He regards its continuance as an evidence

of womanly dignity rather than debasement. "It betokens that delicacy and sympathy of nature, that modesty and grace of spirit, in virtue of which she is fitted for the gentler ministries of life rather than the rougher work of the world."[1] His great message that in Christ there is neither male nor female is that which is destined to govern the highest relationships of the sexes in all lands.

Paul's good sense is revealed, too, in his view of the value and function of the State. He saw that there was no immediate prospect of any alternative government for the world, and also that an imperfect government is for vast masses of people in the lower stages of civilization better than no authority at all. Besides, Rome had made some real contribution to the essential arrangements for trade, travel and citizenship. Its roads in the Empire made possible for him and his colleagues more convenient travelling than would otherwise have been possible. Further, a certain measure of intellectual toleration was enjoyed in the Empire, and Paul's Roman citizenship gave him legal and political security. National distinctions, too, as the author of *Ecce Homo* points out, were sometimes "obliterated under the Empire." "The good Aurelius and the great Trajan were Spaniards. So were Seneca and Martial. Severus was an African. The leading jurists were of Oriental extraction."[2] The apostle held that the idea of the State had its place in the

[1] Alexander, *The Ethics of St. Paul*, pp. 291, 292.

[2] Page 124, 1892 edition.

Divine order, and probably if, in spite of the hatred of Rome by the Jews, due to economic causes and a fickle monarchy or monarchies, they had laboured to use wisely the possibilities of Empire methods of government, the results for Paul's countrymen would have been more satisfactory. He saw, too, the danger to freedom, in the universal recognition of the custom of slave labour, if the doctrine of freedom in Christ were pushed to the extreme limits of claiming absolution from all forms of authority. Paul is very definite that all authority derives its genesis and sanctions from God, though this does not imply that God winks at the use of this authority to which some personalities may devote it. Wernle thinks it is surprising that Paul should teach such a high doctrine of the State when an emperor like Nero was in Rome. Rauschenbusch is probably right that Paul's letter to Rome was written in the earlier years of that monarch's reign. In either case, the value of a system of government for the world cannot be judged by the unwarrantable use of it by a person or persons entrusted, for the time being, with the functions of government. The apostle is far removed from either the Augustinian or the Hegelian view of the State. He is no cringing weakling with a doctrine of mere diplomatic pliability. He believed in order and government; that is partly why he saw the need of the international rule of Christ. But when it came to the decisive alternatives of right and wrong he did not hesitate. "We must obey God rather than man."

His chief mission was the salvation of men and women. He saw that it was the burning need of his time, as it is of all times. He spent his strength in the creation of groups of converts, and established churches on his evangelistic tours. What the world required was a new type of personality and a new moral order of society which could only come through Jesus Christ, in Whom all blood distinctions are abolished, and Whose purpose is the abolition of dividing forces, national antagonisms and unethical practices and systems. Paul's view of the church seemed to be that of a commonwealth of redeemed personalities who would ultimately reconstruct society upon a moral and spiritual basis. But this goal required time to reach. It demanded not only the conviction of it from the dream of the far off Divine event, but the plodding, patient loyalty to each duty; and in wealth of detail the apostle showed how individuals, communities, law and governments could be constantly improved. His faith was placed in redeemed human nature.

The new order of Christological fellowship in the world, Paul taught, was based on great moral principles of thought and experience. The apostle does not minimize the value of intellect in the interpretation of life, but the mind must be spiritualized in order to discern clearly "the things of the Spirit of God." The mistake has too often been made in history of limiting the meaning of life to the intellectual statement of it. But evolving life is always more than its articu-

lation in vocabulary and ideas. Bergson has done great service in reminding us that intellect represents only one aspect of consciousness. Paul is insistent on the place of the instincts in life and action. Faith, hope and love are the enduring elements ; they are universal ; they are the essential outfit of a redeemed humanity. "And the greatest of these is love." Oratory, knowledge, philanthropy and martyrdom are nothing without love. Love is the secret of patient suffering, kindness, generous appreciation, humility, a becoming attitude, disinterestedness, controlled emotion under provocation, and "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." Prophecies, tongues and knowledge are superseded in the advance of thought, but love abideth, the universal and eternal love of Christ in human personality.

Paul knew that most problems of his time could be solved if all men possessed this love. Men are depraved, divided, hateful without it. Empires, temples, sceptres and thrones are reactionary and vindictive without it. Its absence explains historic injustice, greed, tyranny and war. Peoples and governments need the redemption of the instincts as well as the emancipation of the mind. The men of thought and love are the only human hope of the world. Love is the fulfilment of all commandments ; it "worketh no ill to his neighbour." It is the source of fruitful comprehension and creative toleration.

Paul, in the twelfth chapter of his letter to the

Romans, has written a manual of some principles of moral conduct. Elsewhere he lays stress on the need of love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, justice, humility and forgiveness. These are personal qualities. In the relation of the individual to others there should be brotherliness, trustfulness, a sympathetic and sacrificial service, an unfailing patience and a peaceable disposition. Paul enjoins upon all the ideal of the sanctity of family life, and the maintenance of the loving spirit between husband, wife and children in ways suitable to the status of each. In the relation of employer and servant Christ must be the pattern. The practice of justice between them must be founded upon the recognition of the "equality of rights and opportunities as between man and man, and on that basis alone must the fabric of our social and industrial life be reared."

Paul's moral principles are rooted in his doctrine of Christ. It is Christ's example, for instance, which he cites in his Philippian letter to press home the value of humility. It is the possession of the mind of Christ which gives the fullest significance to the details of duty and the practice of goodness. Religion and morality find their genesis and validity in Him. He is the universal standard of conduct and the essential factor in the unifying of a redeemed world. Paul as the interpreter of Christ won in the struggle between systems and freedom, between particularism and universalism, and he won by his unwearied

insistence upon the supreme value to be attached to human personality when united with Christ.

The last book in the New Testament is the work of an exile. Patmos was for him a cruel and compulsory detachment until his final migration. Unlike Paul, whose letters were written to meet complex situations which required immediate and tactful handling, John sees in vision the Empire which fringes the Mediterranean as the incarnation of frightfulness. In matchless imagery he depicts the punishment which will overtake the Empire. But this is not mainly why he writes. He is not out for a posthumous revengeful satisfaction, or to provide arithmetic for inexpert investigators who believe their mission is to announce the exact hour of the approaching doom of the world. Patmos does not embitter him or imprison him; it liberates him. The island is the scene of the universal seer. His view of the coming ages is not Jewish or national or mainly eschatological, it is redemptive. He sees the eternal city rising upon the ruins of a doomed civilization. He sees a new heaven and a new earth, and every form of exile abolished. He descries the new commonwealth coming from the ideal world into the actual and the eternal union of God and man in the bonds of love. God at last finds His mystic home in the citizens, and the disciplinary processes of tears, pain and death are for ever passed away. The fellowship of God and men is perfected in the creative evolution of all things due to Divine initiative and human co-operation. The spacious

city of God is accessible on all sides to all peoples. The historic need of organized religion expressed in special architecture is superseded, because man finds his life and worship in the constant consciousness of the presence of God and of the Lamb. The glory of God is the atmosphere through which men see, and the Lamb is the concentrated revelation of this glory. "And the nations shall walk amidst the light thereof: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it. And the gates thereof shall in no wise be shut by day (for there shall be no night there): and they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it; and there shall in no wise enter into it anything unclean, or he that maketh abomination and a lie; but only they which are written in the Lamb's book of life" (Rev. xxi. 24-27).

This commonwealth of the human race is the civilization for which the great thinkers and lovers of men have toiled since the New Testament era. No internationalism is possible apart from the moral authority and personality of God, and the person and revelation of Christ are the historic and permanent medium for its triumph. And though the full content of John's vision includes the processes on both sides of death the achievements possible in this world are an adequate incentive to every worker. The earth can witness a humanitarianism in which every unnecessary form of suffering may disappear. Wars and preparations for war will cease. Racial suspicion and selfish monopolies will be gone, and a free

access of peoples to the blessings of every country. National wealth will be consecrated to the good of all. The arts will be inspired by the vision of the city of God. John's description of the city without a temple may be more significant in its ultimate meaning than appears to us in the existing necessity for institutional religion. These organizations, born out of new religious impulses, and to incarnate some forgotten or hitherto neglected truth, have a curious knack of governing, subsequently, lesser men who lack the passion and power of the pioneers, and these organizations become folds in which custom smothers ethics, and institutional continuity becomes the chief thing, even when the need for it has disappeared in the spiritual changes of the race. The autocratic and dictatorial pretensions and claims of Roman Catholicism are always antagonistic to the cause of international religion and religious freedom. The petty ecclesiastical parochialism of some branches of Protestantism silences the prophet and often blights the prospects of the kingdom of God. John's vision is a constant challenge to priestly pretensions and denominational littleness. And yet the best forces of the age move steadily towards the Apocalyptic programme, and await the ethical and spiritual power of an international sainthood to lead the way.

CHAPTER IV.

The Christian Ethic and the Christian Centuries.

WHEN the Christian era began "three great religions," as Glover reminds us in his book, *The Jesus of History*, "were fused into one religion, of many cults and rites and ancient traditions."[1] For three thousand years Apollo had given "oracles to the Greek world, to private people, to kings, to cities, to nations." For an even longer period Egyptian religion had maintained its hold upon the people; and "Cybele, Mother of Gods, had been worshipped in Asia." The Christian centuries began with the fusion of these into one faith, with numberless cults and traditions. Their place now is purely historical. The universal religion is only a memory. Glover states there were four main causes of the disappearance of the faith. (1) It lived upon tradition and discouraged truth. (2) There was a too easy divorce between religion and morality. The gods were often on a lower moral level than men. (3) The prevalence of polytheism stimulated super-

[1] Page 199.

stition, and discouraged independent thought. (4) There was no bracing view of a future life. The fundamental weakness of Greek thought had always been the lack of a clear conception of the personality of God and the personality of man, and this was fatal to any real spiritual fellowship. This is not surprising in view of the almost universal conviction of the place and usefulness of slavery in the Greek City States. Even the Stoics in the Roman world had no interest in the ignorant and down-trodden masses. They were concerned only with the cultured classes. There can be no satisfactory ethic when men are not regarded as equal in nature and status. Plato approached the problem of evil from the intellectual rather than from the ethical point of view, and in this radical defect in his thinking about life he stressed knowledge as the cure for sin. But inasmuch as the possession of knowledge required concentration and detachment from grinding manual labour the maintenance of slavery was necessary to provide the economic resources for intellectual advance. In its way it was as opposed to a universal order of human society as Buddhism is still, on account, among other causes, of a pitiless and rigid caste system.

The Christian leaders won in the struggle against the cleavages and human distinctions in Greek thought and practice by their doctrine of God and man. Jesus Christ as the eternal Son of God loved men and gave Himself for them. All men are the potential sons of God, and may share the blessings of grace. There are no differences in

men, except those which arise from the nature of personality. Monarch and peasant are equal. They won, too, because their conduct matched their faith. Freemen and slaves manifested the gladsome spirit, the clean life and an utter fearlessness in face of death. Everywhere the message spread. In spite of persecution under a succession of Roman rulers nothing seemed to stem the tide of redemptive progress. If only the Church had maintained its evangelizing, moralizing and sacrificial power, and had kept aloof from political and state alliances the subsequent history of Europe might have been written in the records of civilizations whose governing aim would have been ethical and redemptive.

One of the worst disasters which could have befallen the Church occurred when Constantine assumed the headship of the Faith. As supreme in the Roman world he made Byzantium his capital, and Christianity the State religion. Its State recognition was an eloquent testimony to its triumph, but the hour of honour was the inauguration of an era of weakness and compromise, and which was still further stimulated by the intellectual battle between rival schools with regard to the intellectual interpretation of Christianity. It was, of course, necessary, in view of the place of Greek thought in the world, that the new faith should be interpreted in the terms of reason, and that it should increase its hold upon the cultivated mind. The tendency, however, was to emphasize the intellectual side of Christianity

to the neglect of the ethical, and this one-sided emphasis, supplemented by the political association of the Church with the State, obscured the glory of the work of saving the world. There was an acceptance of Christian ideas, as Hatch indicates, "but without the enthusiasm which made them a transforming force." Theological precision and the question of orders in the ministry became the chief ecclesiastical concern. Nicea and Chalcedon revealed the neglect of Christological ethics in the exclusive attention given to the metaphysical aspects of the person of Christ. This neglect of ethics partly explains why Augustine failed in the presence of a supreme opening to call the Church and the Empire to the task of a world effort to establish Christianity as a redeeming force in the nations.

The Mediæval dream of a Holy Roman Empire and a Holy Catholic Church had much to recommend it; but while there were some gains, as in the education and government of the northern and eastern peoples, the ideal was always remote because the government of the Empire inclined more and more to faith in the use of force. Besides, history provides no more terrible tragedy than that of the corruption of a series of Papal potentates. Further, State and Church were often more concerned in sanguinary encounters with each other than in the salvation of the world. Again, the great moral ideas of Christianity never got an opportunity in the life of the Church of the Middle Ages. The exercise of force to extirpate heresy,

the demand for submission to ecclesiastical dogmas, and the greed of wealth and luxury by prelate and priest showed how the Church was incapable of appreciating the mind of Christ. An international order of society receded because the Church and the Empire lacked the moral genius to harmonize the growth of freedom and intelligence and the ideal of a world order.

Three factors of historical importance emerged in the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. (1) The capture of Constantinople by the Turk was one of the turning points of human history. It closed the corridor between Europe and Asia, and ultimately shifted the commercial centres of trade away from the Mediterranean. We will return to this point later. It did stimulate, however, a wider perspective in the European in the discovery of new lands. (2) The triumph of the Turk drove the scholars and students of Greece westward. Sections of the forgotten classics had come through at an earlier period, but the Eastern peril brought the treasures of Greece to the western seats of learning, and especially to the Italian cities. The spread of Greek thought stimulated the struggle for intellectual and political freedom by the rediscovery of the individual. A new love of beauty and life was born. But the new period did not reap the luminous advantage of the Greek treasures, because of European moral poverty. And hence "it was a period of bond-breaking; but not only did men snap the shackles that hindered development, they also gleefully

broke the restrictions that made for decency and discipline." "Renaissance Italy was at the same time made wonderful by the genius of great artists and made horrible by the boundless debauchery and reckless ambitions of princes."[1] Dark also says that while the Renaissance has gifts for almost every class "it had no gift for the working man." The Church excommunicated Savonarola and eulogized Machiavelli. The former was a luminous example of complete devotion to Christ and to the public good of Florence, while the latter, a native of Florence, and a leading expositor of the new paganism, held that "where the bare salvation of the motherland is at stake, there no consideration of justice or injustice can find a place, nor any of mere cruelty, or of honour or disgrace; every scruple must be set aside, and that plan followed which saves her life and maintains her liberty." This startling doctrine of force became a faith in many parts of Europe. Indeed, the struggle of modern Europe may be described as the battle of Macchiavellianism and Rousseau's great ideal that all government must rest on the consent of the governed.

(3) The Reformation was the reassertion of the importance of the individual, and of his right to approach God in his own way. Luther's message is a salutary reminder of the value of the Scriptures in the emancipation of man. His limitations are revealed in his inadequate sense of the value of the Epistle of James. But it was a true religious

[1] Sidney Dark, *The Renaissance*, pp. 17, 18.

instinct which fastened upon the Pauline Epistles in which the battle for liberty against law had been won in the first century. It was the triumph in Luther of the right of private judgment in religion. It was more. It was a new emphasis on spiritual religion, and made possible a higher and richer morality than Rome either practised or enjoined. Unfortunately, the moral value of his work was limited by failing to see "that equality before God was incomplete as long as the Church showed respect of persons, bowing down before kings, but trampling as with iron feet upon the peasants they oppressed."

Other limitations marked Luther's work. It was, of course, bound to be conditioned to some extent by the environment in which it appeared. His work was hampered for a time because he had no constructive alternative in government to the existing system. "The Papal order being abolished," he wrote to the Elector of Saxony, "it is your duty to regulate these things: no other person cares about them, no other can, no other ought to do so." But it is difficult to see what Luther could have done to improve the existing governmental system, for after all, a man's working life is brief. Still, the Reformation was a victorious challenge to the tyranny of the Empire and the Roman Church. Unfortunately, the Reformers failed to discern the menace to liberty which followed the emergence of an unethical nationalism, though the real beginnings in nationalism date from the Protestant overthrow of the Papal

tyranny. But whereas under Rome the assertion of the individual in religious ideas and worship was an offence against papal authority, the assertion of the same right later became a crime against the State. The struggle for liberty became political rather than ecclesiastical, and national rather than European. Further, Europe became divided into too many camps. The Latin peoples retained their allegiance to Rome, and the northern nations threw in their lot with the Protestant faith. Other difficulties made the Protestant cause less effective than it otherwise would have been. The leading reformers began the historic practice of wrangling over theological issues. These discussions were not without some value, but they ultimately created theological schools and ecclesiastical differences which obscured the true purpose of Christ in the world. If northern Europe had been evangelized by the united effort of a Protestantism which cared for men as much as doctrine, and for ethical conduct in church and State as intensely or for theological ideas the modern Christian witness in the world would have been more unified, and unifying in its influence.

The revolt against Rome was necessary if liberty were to survive, because all hope of realizing a true world fellowship through Rome had disappeared. Where there is no vision of Christ's value for the individual, the emphasis passes from life to institution, from a rich versatility of spiritual communities and peoples to the maintenance of a centralized authority and compulsory uniformity,

and from political toleration to the ideal of ecclesiastical supremacy. Probably if the colleagues of Luther and their immediate successors could have foreseen the enervating results of some unnecessary theological disputes at a time when a world was needing a redemptive church they would have adopted a different policy. The situation was desperate, and it will stand to the credit of Luther that he proclaimed with unwearied conviction his message of individual salvation, thus carrying on and completing as he himself confessed, the work of such predecessors as Wyclif, Savonarola, Huss and Jerome. His colleagues and his successors, as has been indicated, partly missed the ideal of the supreme work to be done. Calvin made salvation possible on purely "objective grounds" as "the result of immutable decrees," and in which the individual counted for very little. The Reformation which re-discovered the individual was for Calvin a salvation in which the individual played no real part. It was a higher fatalism of the most thorough type, and partly led to the unfortunate results of the Deism of the eighteenth century. Methodism arose to some extent out of the need of a new impulse to counteract the influence of Deistic thought, and Methodism in all its branches has been the great modern spiritual movement, influencing, by its spiritual and moral appeal, the social, educational, political and philanthropic movements in international life, and especially in the British Empire and the United States.

Just as the best fruits of the Reformation could not be reaped, partly because of an imperfect grasp of Biblical revelation and the doctrine of unalterable decrees in the salvation of men, so the beneficent results of the stimulus given to nationalism by the victory over Roman pretensions could not be reaped owing to the wrong ideas of government in the nations. In many countries political liberty was scarcely known. England, the land where freedom was greatest, witnessed the spectacle of a monarch breaking with Rome, not on the high grounds of ethical freedom or spiritual religion, but largely to make it easy for him to treat women as the suitable objects of his detestable wickedness. Henry the Eighth also did for religion in England what Constantine accomplished in the fourth century. He made it the embroidery of the State, and thus emphasized its national function by obscuring its universal mission. He destroyed the liberties of the nation, and regarded the nation as the instrument of his will and whims. The Christian ethic had no opportunity during this period of influencing the nations, and hence the divisions of Europe during the long years that followed Luther's pioneer work.

This "isle of majesty," and of justice through its faith in the "Rule of Law" did not submit quietly or permanently to a succession of monarchical autocrats. The mass of the people was awaiting a voice and an adequate moral energy, and the incentive came through the influence of the Scriptures in Elizabeth's reign. The nation was

stirred by its revelation of life and truth and social justice. "The whole temper of the nation felt the change. A new conception of life and man superseded the old. A new moral and religious impulse spread through every class." The discovery of the ideal of authority in the Bible and the assertion of personal religion in the Reformation created the moral and religious convictions which later triumphed over the Stuart despotisms and the Stuart claim to dominate finance and create and interpret law. One result of this struggle was the birth of the American nation. The men of the *Mayflower* left the shores of Europe because freedom was denied them, and no exile has been more potent in its ethical and political results for the world. This passion for freedom has been the furnace of the American Republic.

Muir says that "when the second great period of Western civilization drew to its close towards the end of the fifteenth century, rational law had re-established its sway over the greater part of Europe, ... and practically the whole of Europe was bound together by a sense of the possession of a common heritage of civilization and of morals." Whilst this does not quite represent the complete condition of Europe, such heritage as there was was almost entirely owing to the men who had kept the moral teaching of revelation before the people.

Creighton states that "the two main features of modern history are the development of nations and the growth of individual freedom." But a much

larger problem implied in these two features is the gradual emergence of the inter-relations of nations. From the day that the Turk closed the commercial route to Asia the world has faced a new situation. Pioneers of the ocean discovered new lands and peoples. Europe was no longer concerned only with the relation of the nations of the continent to each other; there arose the bigger problem of the new relation of European civilization to non-European peoples, who included American, Asiatic and African races as well as those in the islands of the seas. And to those who are concerned about the redemption of the world it is regrettable that the European Christian churches did not rise to the great opportunity which presented itself, for the influence of Europe upon the rest of the world and the effects of these peoples upon Europe form the two central aspects of modern civilization.

An immense overseas trade began to develop, in which the manufactures of Europe were sold in distant centres. Commerce was internationalized, and the new demands for goods probably stimulated the invention of machinery for increased output. From overseas came to Europe the products of the Far East, and the goods of the Red Indian, who taught the European how to grow maize, and produce canoes, woodcraft, and garments from skins. Europe was moulded more than it knew by this impact of a larger world. It was compelled to construct and reconstruct harbours for sea commerce; inland waterways for transit and traffic increased, resulting in new industries, and

stimulating vast concerns like the mercantile marine and mercantile insurance. Emigrations to distant lands created new interest in countries and antique peoples. The field and branches of scientific research were enriched. New data for the study of comparative religion, biology and anthropology were forthcoming. The challenge of the sea multiplied the constituency of the sailor and the traveller, developing human courage and providing new themes and symbolism for literature. It is not too much to say that the new period of the international world has produced some of the best and worst elements in human history.

It was unfortunate, in this new and unprecedented interaction of peoples, that Christian morality had a comparatively feeble hold upon the world. The higher races ought to have felt a special moral responsibility for the cultivation of the backward races, and for the right development of their lands and wealth, but events revealed the almost moral bankruptcy of Europe in its practical dealings with the new situation. One of the results of the larger internationalism of commerce was the exploitation rather than the colonization of the new lands. The Spanish interest in America is an illustration of this. The wealth of the New World was sent home to enrich the King of Spain and his nobles, and as the wealth came through inhuman methods the character of the nation decayed. The ruin of Spain was due to several causes. It was weakened by its aim at European supremacy in the sixteenth century, the challenge to England on the seas, the

denial of political freedom at home and the paralysing nature of its religious beliefs. But it was the heartless exploitation of backward peoples abroad which brought about its fall, but not until it had flooded Europe with silver taken dishonestly from the silver mines of America, resulting in the partial economic chaos of Europe and thereby increasing the sufferings of the poor. The exploitation of native races was practised by other European nations, and it was stimulated by the increase of wealth. Investors made their appearance, and interest in trading expeditions increased. One consequence of this new motive of profit was the inhuman treatment of native peoples. Slavery grew. One of the original steps to this traffic in human life was the forcible removal of negroes from the African territory of Portugal to South America in the sixteenth century. All the maritime peoples of Europe took part in the slave trade. A recent writer states that "in the sixteenth century one English captain admitted that in one slave raid several thousand negroes were killed in order that four hundred slaves might be captured."[1]

Another result of the absence of the moral principles of Christianity from the direction of European policy was the almost continuous warfare which went on. The new lands stirred the cupidity and jealousies of European monarchs and governments. There was scarcely an interval of thirty years at any time in the last four hundred

[1] Sidney Dark, *The Renaissance*, p. 188.

years when war was not going on. The world was a scene of strife, sinister alliances, lust for power and place, and race bitterness and hatred. Two great perils were constantly operative. The first is that of the ambitious autocrat. Personality is the supreme factor in civilization, but, unless governed by moral considerations, can become a menace to peace and security. The French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century reveals the limitations of even a struggle for freedom unless it springs from the moral convictions of a nation. It is one of the educational ironies of history that catchwords of progress sometimes produce unexpected results. The revolutionaries of France were presented with Napoleon. He faced a world with promise in it, but if the spirit and teaching of Jesus had governed him and Europe his tragic work would never have begun. He was the third autocrat to challenge the liberties of Europe. His professed regard for Polish, Jugo-Slav and Italian freedom was but a part of his plan to dominate the continent. He struck ruthlessly and created an armed terror in Europe. These early years of the nineteenth century reveal the perils to religion and civilization which may arise from the ambitions of an immoral genius who uses a morally weak national consciousness for unworthy ends. The hopelessness, too, of reliance upon political decisions by diplomatists who have no enthusiasm for humanity, and who are not representative of ethical peoples, was revealed in the settlement of 1815. The statesmen who shaped the

peace in many cases lacked great moral convictions, and one of the principals, Metternich, of Austria, was the avowed enemy of nationality. It is not surprising, therefore, that after a brief interval of European calm, the world was ravaged by a series of naval and land wars, whose origin and fruits testify to the elementary ethical character of the peoples of the world.

The second peril was that of racialism. Its wider implications will be dealt with in another chapter. In the nineteenth century two schools of interpretation emerged. One of these was represented by Mazzini. The soil now covered by Italy had witnessed the work of Savonarola, the prophet of righteousness, and Dante, the poet, who taught the value of a right ethical view of human relationships. Rome impressed Mazzini, and he hoped that she would become the centre of a great commonwealth of free peoples. His goal was that of a redeemed humanity, and held that "national life and international life should be two manifestations of the same principle, the love of good, and that the indispensable power for the realisation of a world brotherhood was to be found in Jesus." He, however, preached to a Europe which listened more eagerly than the best ethical thinkers perceived to another voice. The university and the warrior beat the prophet. While Mazzini was inspiring the best minds of Europe with a lofty idea of the place and function of nationality, Germany through her scholars was educated in a reactionary conception of the place

which she ought to fill in the life of the world. Philological and historical research was used to prove that the German breed was gifted and fitted by nature and achievements for intellectual and political leadership. They regarded the triumphs of England as due to their German ancestry, and pointed to the Reformation, which began on German soil, as a conclusive proof of German genius in the realm of spiritual progress. Even Harnack, in his view of the Reformation, cannot refrain from a clever aside in supporting the racial aspect of the beginnings of the Lutheran struggle. The pernicious results of this historical method were manifest in some degree in other countries. But the triumphant progress of Prussia, and the translation of the idea of force through government, literature and learning into national pride and boast prepared the way for the militarist regime. Monarchical pressure did the rest. Two personalities stand out conspicuously as the leading exponents of the new idea of the nation, viz., Treitschke and Bismarck. The former provided the history and interpretation of the new programme; the latter applied it in the terms of blood and iron. The former taught that Power is the supreme ideal of the State, and it is the use and triumph of Power which constitutes the strength and influence of the nation. All power must be vested in the head of the State, who stands as the expression of the will of God. The State is the creator of morality. There can be no higher moral authority than that which arises from the declared will of

the nation. No historical or visible authority can supersede it. The result is that there is no place for an international tribunal to regulate the relationships of nations. A strong State cannot allow any interference from an outside source with what it decides to be right. The knowledge of right is determined by the arbitrament of the sword. This was largely the view of "imperious Rome" who "never arbitrated her disputes with her neighbours. The sword was her arbitrator. Occasionally Rome was asked to act as arbitrator in disputes between States on the confines of the Empire, but that was all."[1] It ought to be said, however, that there was also in Roman jurisprudence some evidence of "that universal moral code which is obligatory upon all men just because they are men, and which is obligatory also upon states because they are human institutions."[2] The German interpreter taught that war was the principal means of strengthening and extending the influence of the nation in the world.

The philosophy of Nietzsche was an admirable supplement to this barbarous faith. He taught that the State should rear a race of supermen, and this can only be done by a rigorous process of elimination. No human stock should survive which bears the marks of frailty. But this faith cannot be applied until men get rid of Christianity, which teaches the practice of care for the infirm and the unfortunate. The only way, therefore, to

[1] Rowell, *The British Empire and World Peace*, p. 16.

[2] Ramsay Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, p. 228.

get rid of the weak is to get rid of the faith which befriends them.

The message of Treitschke became the faith of the directors of the German nation, and it at last found a response through a versatile process of education in the national consciousness. There is in this view of life no trace of the principles of the New Testament. Nor is there any place for the nobler instincts of human nature at its best. Love, pity, mercy and patience do not count. History has never witnessed such a blend of efficiency and brute strength and national abandonment of moral principles.

There was another side to the picture. For over a century there had been, in spite of set-backs, a movement towards a more reasonable solution of the disputes between peoples. The celebrated "Jay Treaty in 1794 is a landmark in the history" of this tendency. In the Treaty of Paris after the Crimean war in 1856 there are the following words: "The Plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express in the name of their governments, the wish that States between which any misunderstanding may arise, should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, as far as circumstances might allow, to the good offices of a friendly power." The Treaty of Washington between Britain and the United States made possible the settlement by arbitration of the famous Alabama case. In addition to the Hague Peace Conference of 1899 and 1907 Great Britain and the United States "concluded a Convention" by which a "Permanent Peace

Commission" was appointed to "report on all disputes between the two nations of every nature whatsoever other than disputes, the settlement of which is provided for, and in fact achieved, under existing agreements." A body of international law had been gradually formed, and these more recent achievements marked a distinct movement towards international goodwill.

The growth of international amity was accompanied by a more humane regard for human life in almost all countries where the Christian conception of life gained ground. America abolished the slave trade, and while she did not sufficiently discern the need of a constructive policy in order to cope with the difficulties which the freedom of the negro created, she won a great triumph in the application of the Christian idea of human relationships. This achievement resulted in the enrichment of the national hospitality which became a centre where the emigrants of all countries could find a home.

It is significant, too, that the leaders of the great reform movements during recent generations were mainly Christian men and women. Cobden and Bright championed the cause of cheap food for the people. Shaftesbury was a shining leader in the cause of rescuing child labour from inhuman toil. Gladstone became the recognized spokesman of an educated nation and of political freedom. The Methodist Churches provided the great leaders of the democracy. Joseph Arch, Thomas Burt, Charles Fenwick and John Wilson were the modern

pioneers in the democratic movement for the realisation of a higher standard of material comfort and a more ethical conception of the conditions in which the work of life should be carried on. And the churches were sending their sons in increasing numbers to the foreign missionary field in order to rescue the peoples from barbarism, and laying securely the foundations of Christian thought and experience in peoples who would act as corporate forces for the extension and acceptance of the Christological principles which alone can create an abiding and fruitful internationalism.

As a prophecy of what nations may become in this respect Britain and America to-day make the greatest witness to the peace and security and goodwill of the world. The British Empire is bound together by forces which are morally healthy. The peace which followed the South African war was due in some measure to a conversation which took place between Kitchener and Smuts. When the issue of peace trembled in the balance Kitchener said to Smuts that if he would sign he could almost guarantee that there would be a change of government in England, and then self-government would be given to South Africa. It was the faith of Smuts in this forecast which induced him to agree to peace, and he is to-day one of the great voices of the Empire and of the world reminding men that humanity is on the march. His place in the British Empire is due to the practical loyalty of Britain to the principle of freedom as expressed in the government of South Africa.

What has often prevented a more beneficent influence in the world by Britain and America has been the paralysing effect of many unethical elements in the life of the two nations. The rise and progress of industrialism in the modern period raised new moral and religious issues in both countries. When machinery superseded the domestic factory the conditions of life slowly but surely changed. Wealth increased at an enormous rate, and created unprecedented luxury and power. Vast financial resources were acquired by those whose fathers had been the leaders of the Nonconformists of the nation. Each generation as it passes seems to lose the grip of some religious impulse expressed in a great evangelical upheaval. The gradual weakening of the spiritual convictions of an earlier period resulted in the formation of an attitude to life which is a form of materialism.

Two factors helped to foster this aloofness from a moral view of life. (1) The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the results on its best and worst sides of the doctrine of an unrestricted individualism. The ideal of material success was presented as an inspiring motive of self effort and self development. (2) The spiritual idealism necessary to ethicise the accumulation of wealth receded partly owing to the scientific researches of Darwin and Wallace. Darwin never expected that the idea of the survival of the fittest would be used, as it often was, to justify an almost pitiless method of "getting on." Nor did he intend his work to be a reinforcement of a materialistic

philosophy. The closing words of his "Origin of Species" are: "There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful have been, and are being evolved."[1] He is here stating the view that evolution was part of the ethical purpose of God in the movement of life to some worthy goal. He also asserts elsewhere that "if we consider the whole universe, the mind refuses to look at it as the outcome of chance." And this view that the universe teems with proofs of its reasonableness is conveniently overlooked in the jungle view which has been practised too often in the grim economic struggle of modern life. And the Christian churches which stand for the work of practical redemption failed in front of the new theological crisis which arose out of the Darwinian researches. An interpretation of nature which is now accepted by most Christian thinkers was the cause of unnecessary theological squabbling at a time when there was a clear call to a redemptive church for an evangel of personal, communal and international salvation.

The result has been in certain respects disastrous for the organized religious forces of the world. A lowering of the moral tone and a cynical attitude to Christianity emerged towards the close of the nineteenth and the opening years of the twentieth

[1] Page 403.

century. Numbers of the wealthy classes became the victims of the illusions of the wealth which they had created. Surplus wealth was not used to minister to great causes, or to enrich the arts or architecture, or to create centres for a social ministry. An esthetic anarchy set in, in which domestic sanctity was flouted and the ideals of simple, disinterested life considered obsolete. Material pursuits and material values weakened the idealism of the nation. The result is that the return to a spiritual interest in life is a deeper problem than can be solved by any superficial and got-up movement.

This practical materialism has characterized the other leading nations of the world. The European attitude to Christianity is, on the whole, either indifferent or antagonistic. It ought to be remembered, however, that the peoples of Russia and Germany for a long period had a sorry text-book of professional religion as presented in their governments and monarchies, and the revolt against religion is to a serious extent due to a reaction against the terrible representation of its meaning and value. Leninism has been a horrible misuse of the new Russian regime, but Czarism for long years was a moral nightmare to the Russian people. The Kaiser's claim to political infallibility, as the chosen servant of God, and the purposes which he cherished in order to interpret the Divine will, were bound to create a bitter revulsion against the faith for which he stood, because, unfortunately, men do not always allow for the difference between

a faith and the imperfect or wrong interpretation of it by its exponents. Still, the continental attitude to religion is a disquieting symptom of the international situation.

It is unfortunate that this practical materialism should be influential at the hour of the widening influence of democratic leadership and ideas. It is of the utmost importance that the democracies of the world should be brought under the spell of the moral and spiritual ideals of Christianity. Probably the prospects of this desirable experience are more rosy in Britain than in any part of the world. It was fortunate for the nation that Methodism in all its branches won its spiritual triumphs among the workers of the country when they were feeling their way to political and industrial emancipation. Indeed, the case for religion is even stronger. Methodist local preachers and class leaders were the pioneers and leaders of the democratic movement, and they have formed the most formative force in the upward movement until this day. The fact, too, that the democracy which has kept nearest to the moral ideals of Christianity should be governed by a Labour Cabinet will probably act as a steadying and inspiring stimulus to the democracies of the world. For "just as democracy is only made safe from corruption and subordination to democratic ends by repeated solemn affirmation of its moral and spiritual foundations, so it is only made safe from declining into absolutism and tyranny by constant return upon its metaphysical centre—the sanctity

of the individual. In the modern world the multitude is not in danger; our chief pre-occupation must be to save the individual from being swamped by the multitude. . . . . Democracy that tends to authority and uniformity is foredoomed to decay; the democracy is one of freedom and infinite variety. Democracy has yet to solve the problem of setting the individual free without opening the door to individualism and anarchy."[1] We confidently affirm that unless the peoples who make governments are moved by the truths and principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ the confusions and tyrannies of the past will be repeated, but on a much larger and more ruinous scale. The pride and sentiments of a merely democratic nationalism will not avail. A humanitarianism which treats religion as an interesting survival of imperfect personalities and provisional civilizations will soon resemble a tree whose fruits and flowers have withered because the trunk is severed from the root.

[1] Roberts, *The Unfinished Programme of Democracy*, p. 119.

CHAPTER V.

The Christian Ethic in Modern Life.

I.—In Nationalism.

OUR brief survey of the history of nineteen centuries forces us to the conclusion that the only hope for the peace, stability and moral progress of human society lies in the personal, national and international recognition of the principles which are expressed in the teaching, ministry and work of Jesus Christ, and still further interpreted in apostolic teaching and experience. In order that this revelation of life may be the adequate basis of life and duty the spirit of Christ must work in the personal and corporate activity of His followers, and it is this progressive corporate consciousness which constitutes the necessary dynamic and illumination for the direction and development of the human race.

Everywhere men are wondering whether there is a way out of the complex confusions, the halting and blundering quests and the threatening perils of civilization. The aim of the remaining portion of this volume will be to indicate the fundamental value of the Christian ethic for nationalism, individ-

ualism and internationalism, and thus to throw some light on the true road whither man must travel if he is to reach the goal of his redemptive destiny. These three racial aspects represent three essential spheres of experience and action.

The idea of nationality as an inalienable right of people, who are linked together by blood and traditional ties, and who prefer a freedom and unity of their own, is a comparatively recent innovation in the evolution of nations. It is by no means universally recognized yet. Turkey, for example, has not accepted the idea, though it may obtain an increasing hold upon the Turkish consciousness if the threatened divorce between the spiritual and political functions in this political stronghold of Mohammedanism become an accomplished fact. The disappearance of monarchical autocracy in Germany and in the peoples represented by pre-war Austria, the granting of independence to many small peoples in Eastern Europe, and the mandatory provisions in the League for a more humane treatment by European powers of backward races also strengthen the tendency to the permanent recognition of small and large States in the fellowship of the world.

The history of nations takes us back to the days of tribes and groups of peoples struggling for mastery; they were only tolerated as long as they were strong enough to maintain their independence. Moral considerations did not count, and national recognition of the independence of other nations did not become an article of national ethics. Probably

Mazzini, as Ramsay Muir suggests, gave the idea its operative power in the European consciousness, though the Hebrew prophets were the first to give to the world the ethical basis of national outlook and activity in relation to other nations.

The problem of what constitutes a nation has been variously interpreted. Many causes operate in its origin and evolution. Language, geographical situation, race, suffering, economic pressure, war and religion have operated in varying degrees to create peoples with a national consciousness of their own. The sense of self-preservation has often strengthened the feeling of unity in a nation, as, for example, when Russia, towards the close of the seventeenth century, rose to meet the twofold peril of Swedish aggression and the danger of Turkey in its Black Sea policy and in its cruel treatment of the Balkan peoples, with whom Russia had racial affinities. There are nations in which several languages are spoken, and in which many bloods appear; in others, varying religions and forms of government exist. Morley in his book, *Politics and History*, gives illustrations of the difficulty of finding a single principle which explains the rise of nationalities. He says, "Belgium is a political state, and yet its Walloon and Flemish provinces are not common in descent, tongue or history. Austria-Hungary is a great state, though they speak twenty-four languages in the Austrian army. . . . . Switzerland has three languages, yet is one nation."

Every nation lives a twofold life. There is first the life that it develops within itself, and, secondly, the expression of that life in the wider life of the world. A nation increases in two ways —by multiplication within itself, and by additions from alien sources. Propagation and immigration are the only sources of its numerical expansion. From small beginnings it ultimately through some generations acquires a sufficient population to be entitled to the designation of a nation. And as the lines of its original stocks become fainter the time arrives, as the case of the evolution of Britain when there is the cementing tradition of physiological kinship, though this usually requires long periods for its realisation. The pooling of bloods through tribal and domestic intercourse is supplemented by deeper affinities which slowly mature. As each generation passes it hands on to its successor its beliefs, worship, habits, homes, industries, intellectual facilities, prepossessions, prejudices and its achievements in war. This unceasing process goes on until the time arrives when the people acquire a type of life and communal genius, special to themselves and produced on their own soil.

The land and the people become part of each other, and this blend of geography and people will be most pronounced and formative in its influence where the land has natural defences, is rich in scenery, compels its occupants to win its favour, and is the scene of great struggles and moral and spiritual progress. This specialisation of people and soil is not only an obvious feature of history,

but is also a necessary factor in the evolution of the human race. It is true that God hath made of one blood all nations to dwell upon the face of the earth, but the main stream has subdivided into a number of directions. The blood of the Japanese is fundamentally akin to that of the European. There is no essential divergence in the framework of peoples. Still, the Japanese type of individual and of national consciousness has evolved out of the long generations of eastern fellowship, and the increasingly permanent *set* of the mind and purpose of the nation.

The effects of the formation of a nation are complex, and, if influenced by truths and principles which are valid everywhere and for all time, and derive their sanction from God, are beneficent. We grow up in the nation and on the soil where we are reared. The language, architecture, trades, scenery, type of people, legends, ideas, literature and forms of political and religious beliefs mould us in the formative years. The process of deliberate or atmospheric assimilation continues, until the time arrives, probably from eighteen to twenty years of age, when we are so influenced by the national genius that the hall-mark of nationality abides through all the years. No man can escape from the subtle and specialized influences of his native land. These condition his matrimonial alliances, enrich and modify his literature, create some of the moulds of his art, and inspire his music. And the richer the many-sided life of the nation, the richer will be the output of those who epitomize

in themselves its cumulative and mystic life. The greatest wealth, too, comes from the peoples, if there are rich ethical and spiritual elements in their history, whose story stretches back through immense periods of time. The Greek legends have permanently enriched literature. The geography of India has inspired the phrasing and mystic outlook of her writers. The forest, desert, river and mountains of the Indian triangle have suggested to the authors symbols which have an almost sacramental value. Books like *Bubbles on the Foam*, and *An Essence of the Dusk*, are permanent assets for all who love beauty. It requires prolonged periods of national history to make possible the great music, like that enshrined in the works of the Hungarian masters. Ireland has made a distinctive contribution to the poetry of the world, and to its mysticism too, and only a marriage of people and land could have produced it. Britain has enriched civilization by a literature which is clothed in the imagery of the soil and is instinct with the idealisms which have made the history of the nation ; and each of its divisions, England, Scotland and Wales, has made its own donation by song and speech and pen to patriotism and the cause of freedom. The hills and dales, the banks and braes, the lakes and rivers and the rugged strength and versatile grandeur of this sea-girt land have been conscripted for intellectual and spiritual purposes. The poets, prophets and statesmen in their build and work have been moulded by their national genius, and in turn have

confirmed or modified the inheritance by the impact of their initiative and reforming efforts. And this process of construction by tradition, and progress by the power of moral and spiritual personalities is the secret of national distinctiveness, value and beneficent advance.

There is a school of writers to-day which holds that nationality is the impediment in the way of modern progress, and that, whilst it may have had historic value, it must give way to the inauguration of a real internationalism. This criticism completely ignores the obvious feature of the world that it is only in the last four years that small nations have had any sense of real security. The moral consciousness of the world has never risen until to-day to the ethical toleration of those who desire in peace and activity to work out their corporate destiny. Of course the dream of a World State has always emerged in some personality. Alexander the Great wanted to pool the breeds of Europe and Asia, and produce a new stock. Rome, through a process of conquest, tried to create a new internationalism of peoples. The methods to secure this end were often pitiless, and the absence of the necessary ethical genius to combine government and freedom made the effort unavailing. Philip II., Louis XIV., Napoleon and the Hohenzollerns all endeavoured to realize the idea of a vast Imperium. Napoleon, according to his secretary, Les Cases, aimed at "concentrating the great European peoples, divided hitherto by a multiplicity of artificial boundaries, into homo-

geneous nations, out of which he would have formed a confederation bound together by unity of codes, principles, feelings and interests." This admirable aim is the statement of a man who was anxious to put himself right with future generations, but, in any case, it was a queer method that he adopted, and it is fortunate that Europe did not agree to his plan. Wells, in his *Salvaging of Civilization*, says that "the project of a world-wide League of Nations is not sufficient for the needs of Europe; the idea of a World State is a sounder and more hopeful proposition." It will probably be proved, as history advances, that this dream of Wells is impracticable for a long time to come, and that the universal ends of God may be accomplished in a better way.

There is no inherent vice or racial obstacle in the idea of nationality. Nations, it is true, have often passed through a recurring cycle of rise, prosperity, fluctuations and decay. Some of the great peoples of antiquity, who were able to impose their pitiless will upon weaker nations, disappeared by a process of exhaustion, and scholar and excavator labour to-day to find the buried remnants of their greatness. Is their end explained by the challenge of climate, soil, militarism, and incapacity for physical persistence, an unwillingness or don't-careness to meet the changes which the unseen movements of men and nations create, or the sudden shifting of the economic centres of trade? Any of these influences, or a combination of them may seriously injure the most powerful nation.

It will be found, however, that the supreme factor in the quality, endurance and world value of a nation is its religion. It is not enough to possess a religion; it is vital that it should be marked by moral and spiritual elements. One reason for the backward condition of most Mohammedan peoples is the comparatively low character of the principles of their faith. Basil Matthews, in his small and brilliant book, *The Riddle of Nearer Asia*, summarizes the principles of Islam. "They are, roughly, the absolute power of the Caliph—the successor to Mohammed—i.e., despotism without representative government; the consequent absence of freedom; permanent slavery tempered by kindness; polygamy and concubinage, and the system of the veil and the harem, tempered again by kindness to the women who have, however, no rights; temperance; a repudiation of theft, falsehood, murder and adultery; the world-brotherhood of Moslems; propaganda by the sword; and the Jihâd, or holy war for the extermination of the infidel."[1] Mohammed's own life and character are a complete condemnation of the faith he promoted. As W. H. T. Gairdner says, "As incidents in the life of an Arab conqueror, the tales of raiding, private assassinations and public executions, perpetual enlargements of the harem, and so forth, might be historically explicable and therefore pardonable; but it is another matter that they should be taken as a setting forth of the moral idea for all time." The logical result of a people with this faith is the

[1] Page 76.

certainty of ultimate decay; there is no possibility of vitality or ethical progress. Buddhism cannot create a virile, joyous and redemptive community. It has no future for human personality, and therefore is without any revelation of the personality and moral character of God. The only cure for suffering is the final escape from life itself. The progress and unity of mankind are impossible with these two faiths; their parochial and fundamentally unethical basis, and their historic incapacity to produce great world events, and forces which move men to higher planes of moral consciousness demonstrate their essential limitations.

The Christian view of life and of the universe guarantee that a nation which increasingly is inspired by it cannot be destroyed. Christ came to give life and to give it more abundantly, and a people which possesses this life contains within itself the secret of an unceasing mastery of degenerative forces. The quality of the faith of a nation conditions its power and persistence. Take the Jew as an illustration of the vitality that religion produces. He has no national home, no soil which forms his actual living centre. He is scattered among the nations, and amenable to many forms of government. Yet he retains his national consciousness. Two things explain his survival, viz., his religious genius and his capacity for material progress. He failed at the moral challenge of Jesus; and when, by the logic of events, he discovers the genesis of his historic failure to be what he might have been, retraces his steps, and becomes passion-

ately evangelical and ethical he will fill a great place in coming generations.

England has for some generations been in the van of international progress. Though originally a composite fellowship they were the first European people to realize their national rights. Whilst favoured by the defence of the ocean, and knit together by the pressure of alien rule, the nation slowly and impressively emerged by virtue of a fine loyalty to the idea of liberty and to the rule of law, and to a continuous regard for the subsequent fruits of these loyalties as seen in some religious revivals. The Reformation was preceded by a series of redemptive personalities who called the nation to the sense of the need of personal ethical religion, and loyalty in life and government to the moral demands of God. The Reformation found in England its finest expression. At a later period arose the most impressive spiritual movement of British in the work of John and Charles Wesley ; and since his day various spiritual agencies and churches have arisen, and all aiming at the conversion of the individual, the production of a better social order, and the purifying of the methods of government. Spiritual religion has found in this land a responsive soil, and the passion for liberty and social justice has produced profound changes for good in the people. Besides, the long struggle against monarchical domination during the Tudor and Stuart periods produced an ideal and love of freedom which is not likely to disappear. " Since the fortunate failure of her early attempts to

subjugate Scotland and France, England has never tried to suppress or control any other state in Europe but has rather been the unfailing champion of the common right of all to exist in freedom."[1] Whilst large reservations must be made in dealing with the religious life of Britain it is an illustration of the truth that a nation with ethical religion working in its genius, and expressed in humane legislation and social aims for the common good, has in it the secret of survival and progress, and the power to strengthen the bonds of national unity.

The other aspect of national life, viz., the expression of its spirit in relation to other peoples, will be considered later. But the comradeship of nations will not be possible until the Christian ethic is operative in at least the majority of countries. The trouble is usually impulsive and emotional. Jealousy is the cause of mischief between individuals and families. It is the poison of all intercourse, and national cynicism, bitterness and hatred arise from an absence of generous appreciation. A ruinous egoism supersedes a uniting altruism, fetters the judgment, stimulates domineering and divisive ambition, and makes its victim the spoiled child of an imaginary strength. What is needed is the love of Christ which enables men and peoples to regard each other as brothers of one great human family.

Nationality then is not an accident in human history. It is not an artificial form of human society intruding itself into the real fellowship of

[1] Ramsay Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, p. 56.

the world. It is, as far as our view is concerned, an indispensable instrument for the realisation of a world commonwealth. It makes for variety of corporate life, and, through its specialized unity, stimulates the use of gifts which enrich the life of the world. An ethical nationalism fosters a true internationalism. Christianity is a universal faith. Its principles must be expressed in life and relationships. Wrong done by an Englishman or American or Frenchman to an oriental or an African native is just as sinful as if it were done to a fellow-citizen of the same nation. Geography or race does not modify moral principles or moral obligations. East and West *do* meet in the mind and love of God.

The moral and spiritual interests of the nation are therefore a matter of supreme concern. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness." One of the first elements in a good nation is the establishment of freedom. Hobhouse, in his book, *The Elements of Social Justice*, says, "The fundamental idea of democracy is equal freedom in a common life." [1] This freedom is manifold in its aspects and obligations. It implies communal self-determination. There is no freedom where the opportunity to express either the individual or corporate judgment on national practice or purpose is withheld. "The common life is free when and in so far as each element is called on for its contribution and no decision is taken till it has made itself heard and felt." This liberty involves the right, too, to an ordered, constitutional and intelli-

[1] Hobhouse, *The Elements of Social Justice*, p. 186.

gent criticism of and opposition to the national will by the individual or by a section of the community where national projects and activities are regarded as a violation of moral principles and true human interests. Moral insight is not necessarily guaranteed by the judgment of a majority of the community. Majority judgment is what Hegel stressed, because he regarded ethics as the fruit of reason, and naturally therefore thought that the verdict of the community ought to command the obedience of the individual. The peril of this view of morality is obvious. Religion is thus a matter of ideas rather than of facts, and the "Person and Work of Jesus a mere vehicle for certain ideal reconstructions of thought." Morality is reduced to the positions accepted or created by the communal intelligence working upon ideas and the data of experience. This Helegian doctrine of submission to the will of the community makes the state as supreme in the realm of political judgment as Roman Catholicism in the sphere of ecclesiasticism and doctrine is in the faith of its devotees. Bradley has carried this position to unwarrantable length when he argues that "to wish to be better than the world is to be already on the threshold of Immorality."[1]

If this position were widely and permanently held we should bid good-bye to the possibility of progress. This theory of authority has inspired the autocracies of the centuries. The great stages of world progress have often been marked

[1] *Ethical Studies*, p. 180.

by the arrival and work of a personality who usually has been, in the Christian era, a disciple of Jesus Christ, and therefore in possession of a truer moral insight into the needs and true direction of a nation than the total judgment of the leaders who regard custom and morality as synonymous terms, and stand for the same conceptions. And hence there is the need of unsleeping vigilance by those in the nation who accept Christ's way of life, for He can use them to elevate the moral consciousness of the people.

On the other hand, there is the urgent need of the Christian ethic in national life to preserve it from the idiosyncracies and vaulting ambitions of self-created perilous upstarts. Mussolini is an illustration of this danger. By the loyalty of his own military followers he has endangered the stability and unity of the Italian nation. He goes one better than Bismarck. He has an iron glove on an iron hand. It is a perilous factor in a nation and a world when one man, in the assertion of personal ambition, dare flout the moral conscience of the world by ignoring an international court of goodwill.

Besides, no people can be free unless there is the moral mastery of its strength. It must be capable of regulating its own destiny in obedience to the will of Christ. The national consciousness must be aware of the main lines of true progress. There is often a serious contrast between the heralds of reaction and the advocates of the clean life. Lord Morley presses the demand for clearness

of grasp in the inward meaning of democracy when he enquires whether we mean by it "a doctrine or a force; constitutional parchment or a glorious evangel; perfected machinery for the wire-puller, the party-tactician, the spoilsman and the boss, or the high and stern ideals of a Mazzini or a Tolstoi." Does the nation desire God, and God as Jesus revealed Him? The principal equipment is not humanitarianism. Ultimately the love of man will wither where a nation loses the love of God. Indeed, man won't then be worth loving, for the value-judgment will disappear. Love without the Cross in it would be a poor thing. A half revelation with the principal half missing would be a calamity. To use an idea without the sense and experience of its value would be an anti-climax in moral grip. Lord Acton says, "A sovereign people may become as harsh as a sovereign lord." A cynic argues that the French "are accustomed to discipline and are eager in their turn to practise it." In America dissent from recognized standards is treated harshly, due partly to an unconscious fear of an enormous alien population too near the original physiological springs. Bolshevism in Russia regards democracy as a force which crushes "what it does not like." Glover, quoting Aristotle, says that the key is in the last stages, the highest development. Which stage does he mean? Progress is not a guide; it needs one. A provisional civilization cannot provide the standard of morality. The key is not in the race. The key is in Christ, and in His great love, and in His message of love and duty.

This moral mastery by the community of its own strength is very urgent because democratic government is on the increase in the nations. The peoples more and more will direct themselves by their deliberate appointment of their own governors. Government will then rest upon the free consent of the community. It is precisely this combination of political freedom and democratic government which constitutes the strength and the peril of the new order of society. One danger is that the democracy may conclude that religion and priveleged government in the past have been partners in a policy of open or subtle antagonism to the true interests of the common people. This peril is the more serious because, on the institutional side of religion, the indictment would be only too true of many periods and in many so-called Christian countries. The church has often initiated and carried through inhuman policies, and has too often been the willing tool of potentates and war. In the newly won freedom of some European nations this historic disloyalty to the ethical spirit of Christianity has produced a violent reaction against religion. Edward Bernstein, in an article in the Contemporary Review of January, 1924, quotes from the address of one of the Communist leaders in a debate on "The future of Religion" which was held in the Moscow Polytechnic Museum. He said, "We can smell the decay of religion. We have no room for a tyrant God. We are concerned with raising man. Do not put fetters on the newly-arising life. Don't bind the awakening

peasant. Science must be our illumination. Heaven! This earth must become a heaven for a man to live in." Democracy in Germany, Belgium and Austria has been for many years largely indifferent or antagonistic to religion. Some of the influential leaders anticipate the disappearance of Christianity from the new order of human society. "Recent French legislation discourages school instruction in moral duty by forbidding the teacher to make any reference to the existence of the Deity, and by excluding everything of a religious nature from the school-books."[1]

It will be a serious danger if the progress and security of nations are made to depend upon the possibility of a permanent antagonism to religion because of a diplomatic opinion or a sincere conviction that organized religion and Christianity are the same things. We cannot be indifferent to this new menace. What would society be like if Christianity were universally discarded? What would be left? Can the race hold together, can the community long remain socially pure without the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man? Can society exist without the qualities of meekness, mercy, humility, spiritual purity, self-sacrifice, a passion for peacemaking, and the love of the whole life for God and man? Are these to be rendered obsolete in order to inaugurate the reign of a democracy which would only be the opportunity for a new unethical

[1] Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I., p. 365.

autocracy? Is European civilization only possible by the refusal to recognize Christ and His religion?

Allowance must be made in our diagnosis of modern life for the bitterness which tends to enter the mind of the sincere student who takes his stand on the side of the suffering masses. But the cleavage between religion and democracy must not be allowed to develop into a settled mood. The urgent and permanent task of every nation and in every generation is the enthronement of Jesus Christ in the national conscience.

Several very serious considerations force themselves upon us in the survey of nations. The physiological aspect of the people raises obvious questions. In England a Commission reported not long ago that the increase of the population was due largely to the no'er-do-wells, the feeble-minded and the illegitimates. The healthy stocks were being gradually depleted. Among the professional classes and the best types of artisans there was a perceptible decline in the number of children per family. In some denominations of the Christian church the manses average just slightly over one child for each. We could face the situation with less alarm if the most promising sections of the lower middle classes and the workers gave indications of a change in their sense of domestic responsibility for the continuity of the race. The industrial classes provide increasing proof of their physical and mental virility in the laurels which their children earn in every field of national

activity. The arrival of a competent section of the democracy has slain the foolish notion of long centuries that the common folk were born to serve the interests of their superiors in intellect and leadership. But the artisans are failing, too, to provide their contribution to the maintenance and increase of the population. The birth-rate among the upper classes is only one-half of what it used to be.

The causes of this serious national and international feature of society are numerous. Probably the economic motive weighs in many cases. One result of the increase of education is a developed sense of the consequences of any course of personal action. The struggle for the decencies of life grows more intense for cultured people. The cost of food and house, and the national financial demands upon frugal citizenship increase, and they are reluctant to rear a number of children whom they cannot equip for the tasks of life. Besides, there is the pressure of society in the life of the wealthy classes. Travel, motors and costly entertainment absorb unnecessarily large sums of money which ought to be devoted to the privileges and obligations of parenthood. There is, further, the reluctance on the part of large numbers of women to give their life to the cause of rearing and loving children because the thought of self kills the nobler instinct. Woman finds one of her greatest joys and ministries in motherhood, and any deliberate neglect of this side of life through selfishness implies that marriage is sought because it provides

a maintenance, a house, a series of irresponsible comforts and the satisfactions of an esthetic animalism.

This national danger is more serious when the demands of the future are remembered. The evolution of civilization will become more intense, and only the nations with the utmost possible resources will be able to stand the pace. Three solutions have been offered as solutions for this tendency to the degeneration of peoples. (1) *The scientific method.* This remedy provides, among other methods, for a policy of segregation of the unfit and the organically diseased to prevent the continuance of their defects. This stress on the importance of heredity, the comparative neglect of the value of a healthy and ennobling environment, and the attendant risks of interfering with the freedom of the individual rather exaggerates the ideal of an artificial system of race cure. (2) *The educational method.* Many experts and reformers attach great importance to the ministry of the parent, doctor, schoolmaster and the Christian minister in the work of instructing youth at a suitable age in the meaning of the creation of life and the responsibilities of parenthood. The weakness of this remedy is the inability to see that education alone does not provide the necessary dynamic and the essential moral values. Eugenics will play an increasing part in the solution of many of the grave physical ills of the age, but the third remedy, viz., *the moral and spiritual method,* gets at the heart of the problem, and provides the

only effective solution. The rearing of fine human stocks is only the preliminary work, for strength uncontrolled is as great a domestic peril as the perpetuation of weakness. A serious defect of the exclusive emphasis upon domestic breeding is the neglect of the growing conviction based upon experience, as Fairbairn and Roberts point out, that "physical heredity" has little "to do with the ultimate purpose of life. In so far as Eugenics will lead to greater precautions against the propagation of diseased and mentally and physically degenerate persons, and quickens a greater vigilance and a more insistent demand for sound minds and sound bodies in those about to give themselves in marriage, it brings a necessary and valuable reinforcement of the influences that make for human welfare. But when it goes beyond this point, it becomes a danger to the spiritual conception of life and society."[1]

The modern State is increasingly interesting itself in the problem of the home, as revealed in the provision made for financial assistance during periods of unemployment, sickness, for mothers when children are born, and for the comfort of old people. The education of children is an essential charge upon public funds. The State is entering upon a new era of permanent responsibility for the erection of dwellings which contribute to domestic well-being. Girlhood will soon be able to claim the special care of the public conscience by raising the age of consent in order to guard

[1] Roberts, *The Unfinished Programme of Democracy*, p. 185.

her until the maturer years create a more sure defence of will and purity.

Certain dangers threaten the home. Sooner or later, the question of mothers in mills and businesses will have to be faced. The death-rate of infants in highly organized industrial centres where mothers work in mills is disquieting. Nothing can be done to create a substitute for the mother in the care of children. The increasing economic independence of a family at an earlier age than in preceding generations calls for a high standard of home life, because the expenditure of money in youth requires domestic oversight and the loving advice that only years can give. The modern tendency to increased facilities for divorce is one of the gravest problems of our time. Germany, Belgium and Sweden recognize mutual aversion as a reason for divorce. In many countries divorce can be secured when a certain period has elapsed after a separation order. In China and Japan a man has no serious difficulty in securing a divorce. The Code of Manu in India makes real home life almost impossible.

Wherever divorce is made easy morality declines. This was one of the main causes of the downfall of ancient peoples. Some European countries already betray signs of the same results. Britain so far has maintained in many ways a comparatively helpful attitude to the preservation of the marriage tie. There are influential forces and personalities who are labouring to legalize a number of additional reasons for divorce. It will be found that the

case is sometimes argued from the standpoint of those who do not desire the highest standards of morality, but who desire an accommodation to the defects of unregulated human nature.

It is a matter of the most serious significance that the organized religious forces of the world are not more insistent upon the New Testament standards of marriage. If it is said in reply that we cannot expect that section of the citizenship of the world which holds aloof from Christianity to accept its standards of marriage, that is no reason for a passive accommodation to a defective code of relationships. The Church of Rome has done a serious disservice in its insistence upon a celibate priesthood. The evils of this regulation are manifest in some periods of ecclesiastical history. But the inference behind the antagonism to the marriage of the priest does not help the case for the sanctity of the marriage bond. Lofthouse raises the fundamental issue. He asks, "Are we to conclude, with the Church of Rome, that the family life is permissible to the ordinary man and woman, but that for true holiness it must be adjured with as thorough a hatred and as deep-rooted a fear as actuated Plato in his daring construction of a model community?"[1]

The value of the Christian ethic for each nation and for the world in relation to the problem of marriage and the family must be perfectly obvious to those who desire the realisation of a world brotherhood. We must not weaken our hold upon our ideal

[1] *Ethics and the Family*, pp. 301, 302.

by historical investigation on the subject, though such research may be helpful. The suggestions of fear, magic, animism and ancestor worship may have stimulated the tendency to marriage and domestic obligations. The Christological ideal is very clearly revealed, and is strengthened by the consideration that any high form of human society will require the Christian basis of home life. Society needs the religion of faith and love in the home. Spirituality in husband and wife transfigures the intimacies of matrimony, and produces the practice of restraint, the unfettered joy, the willing discipline of mutual service and toleration, the tender accumulating memories which the years idealize, and the daily vision of human nature radiant with prayer, altruism and fellowship. In such homes luxury, selfishness, unholy passion, jealousy and the desire for divorce find no place. The family centre then is just our chance of the prize of earning love.

The Christian homes of England are her security and strength, and they ought to be considered by those who would interfere with the political foundations of the State in this regard. The best manhood and womanhood of the nation is being made in the homes where Christ is supreme. The provision of easy facilities for divorce would be as suicidal in its accommodation to depraved taste, as the acquiescence in the continuance of polygamy would be on the ground that the raising of the standard of life for the black races of Africa would break the mould in which their life has hitherto

been shaped. And every nation would be greater by an increasing approximation to the family standards of the New Testament.

The industrial order is face to face with a grave crisis. The lack of a Christian ethic has been painfully manifest since the days of the introduction of mechanics to meet the needs of man. The wealth of nations grew enormously until, in the days immediately preceding the war of 1914, Europe on its aristocratic side, and America too, became the theatre of visible luxury and waste which threatened to ruin its possessors, and create class bitterness in many peoples in which the sullen discontent was the preliminary rumbling of a coming storm. The political revolutions of the post-war days have a more serious dynamic in them than the expositor of easy explanations for cataclysmic events imagines. Schweitzer states that "our civilization is doomed because it has developed with much greater vigour materially than it has spiritually. Its equilibrium has been destroyed. Through the discoveries which subject the powers of nature to us in such a remarkable way the living conditions of individuals, of groups, and of States have been completely revolutionized. Our knowledge and power are enriched and enhanced to an unbelievable extent; . . . . But in our enthusiasm for knowledge and power we have arrived at a mistaken conception of what civilization is. We over-value the material gains wrung from nature, and have no longer present in our minds the true significance of the spiritual

element in life."[1] Man is the victim of his own triumphs. The truth is that there never has been a nation that built its activities upon a spiritual basis. Idealism, humanity and spirituality have never inspired the majority of any generation, and the standards and aims of a people are always conditioned by the moral and spiritual quality of the individual life.

The Christian ethic is necessary to ethicize the distribution of wealth. The disparity between the wealthy and employed classes constitutes a grave British problem. In spite of the war wealth falls into ever fewer hands. In America about 5,000 families of the aristocracy possess more than five times as much property as eight millions of the poorer classes. There is no immediate prospect of any change in the apportionment of this wealth. The increasing efficiency in the application of scientific invention to industry displaces labour and makes for increased profits. The enormous growth of the trust, and especially the international trust, is superseding the commercial individualism which unconsciously made the trust possible. These trusts represent an enormous constituency of shareholders who are indifferent to the policy adopted as long as the returns upon the investments arrive. The trust is the supreme commercial sinner in the art of watering capital, and making the rank and file pay for the artificial and often wicked increase of unearned and unmerited wealth.

[1] *Civilization and Ethics*, p. 2.

And the place and power of the trust since the war seem more obvious than before.

The mass of toilers have organized themselves into a number of organizations for the defence of their rights and the security of the individual worker. That is not all. The growth of democratic intelligence is producing the will to find new solutions for a better distribution of the wealth which the nation produces. The democracy is no longer willing that science and machinery should be used for the mere maintenance of life and the wealth created pass into comparatively few hands, many of whom are the recipients of the profits of a business they do not understand, and in some cases have not seen. It is necessary, however, that the struggle should not drift merely into a class consciousness and a class conflict. The Christianisation of the nations, in the light, for example, of the Russian Revolution, becomes the supreme task of the times. The peaceful evolution of Western civilization on its industrial side will have a salutary effect upon the mind of Eastern peoples where manufacturers and financiers are still able to use the people as their convenient instruments of amassing wealth on account of the comparatively backward state of political and democratic intelligence. Besides, an ordered and just transition to a new industrial order, in which a real democracy will begin, will do something to reassure everybody of the universal possibilities of human nature, and thus pave the way for a fuller comradeship of the black and white and yellow races.

But the goal of a better order will be found to be a terrible disappointment when reached unless the social evils of the people are removed. The white slave traffic must be destroyed. The prevalence of sexual diseases must be checked and overcome. The communal mood which enables a prize fighter to acquire a fortune in an hour must be changed. The public conscience which glorifies the prize ring must be redeemed. The drug habit among all peoples is a serious menace. Two great social evils, viz., drink and gambling, threaten to destroy the very fabric of civilized life. The former is one of the two worst epidemics of the age. Its roots go far back into history. In Athens the ravages of drink were terrible; "the laws of Draco condemned to death any person convicted of being drunk."[1] This evil was one of the causes of the ruin of ancient Rome. Seneca describes its physiological effects in language which fits the modern results of it. The financial power of the trade is enormous. Mr. Philip Snowden holds that the capital value is £1,000,000,000. There is a large constituency of shareholders, whose commercial and political influence is bound to affect the communal conscience in its judgment of the trade. Further, the unprecedented growth of clubs, in which the shares are held by their members, has increased the number of persons whose judgment of the nature and results of drink is determined by economic returns. The trade is paralysing industry. If the money spent in Britain

[1] Axel Gustafson, *The Foundation of Death*, p. 18.

last year on drink had been devoted to human well-being every penny of the rent on houses, businesses, lands and farms could have been paid, and £45,000,000 left for repairs. The trade consumes more money than the total amount spent on beef, mutton, pork, bacon, dairy produce and wheat. It is a direct cause of imbecility and wills weak by nature. The mother partly makes or mars the race. Her habits do influence in some degree the physical fitness or unfitness of every generation, and drink is one of the staple articles of diet in the case of vast numbers of women in highly civilized countries. The moral results of drinking are clear to every impartial student and observer. Divorce would practically disappear in Britain if prohibition became the law of the land. It is still the most fruitful cause of commercial and professional collapse. It is one of the two gravest perils of democratic sanity and purity. Its sinister political ramifications make it the foe of political honesty and humanitarian legislation. It chokes the conscience of important sections of the Christian church, because of political and financial considerations.

The gravity of the evil compelled America to face the challenging issue. She saw that drink and liberty could not exist together, and the choice had to be made. She saw, too, that drink and human efficiency cannot exist together. The triumph of prohibition in the States has raised the moral standard of the world, and has compelled peoples to face anew the menace of the trade.

And the moral urgency of tackling it is manifest in the struggle on the part of the brewers and their allies in their efforts to create disloyalty to State law. Subterranean methods are being used in the attempt to make the law of none effect by the illegal manufacture of injurious substitutes, and by the influential encouragement of smuggling. The trade will leave no stone unturned to entrench its interests and ruin on every soil. The day has arrived when those who represent Christ and His principles must declare war on the traffic in order to save the soul of the nations.

Closely allied to the evil of drinking is that of gambling. A century ago there were very few bookmakers in England; to-day there are about 40,000, and their number is increasing. It is estimated that about £3,000,000 per week are spent in gambling. It is affecting every class of the community. The newspaper stunt of propagating coupon competitions is a prolific cause of the evil. It is easy to secure a hundred thousand entries in the main competitions, and a handsome profit is secured by the promoters. A vast number of bookmakers will be earning from £500 to £5,000 each per annum.

The practice is corrupting clean sport and affecting the integrity of athletes. Women and girls are being ruined by it. The toilers in mill, mine and forge, and young men and women in offices and shops are the special victims of it. The modern habit arises from a peculiar psychological cause. It is what one reformer calls

"mind-drunkenness." Among girls the gambling habit is partly due to the war. They earned good wages then, and the power to gratify a natural love of beauty enabled them to realize a new experience of adornment and pleasure. This love of beauty is part of the outfit of personality. God is the supreme Artist. Every moorland and pasture is a dream of beauty; and the advancing intelligence of the race will be expressed in a manifold estheticism. But since the war the income has decreased while the instinct abides. The vision of shops and the clothing of the well-to-do section of the community keeps alive the conflict between the taste of the girl and her resources. When she reads in the newspaper of a young woman who wins £30,000 from a competition in relation to a horse-race upon an entrance fee of ten shillings she discovers a possible way by which her own decorative ideals can be met.

This evil is affecting many countries, including France and America. The continental lottery systems are responsible for many forms of social vice and political corruption. In England we are confronted with the peril of the maintenance of hospitals and political institutions by means of gambling competitions, and, by a specious method of adaptation, children are induced to bet with their coppers. The ethical attitude is confused because intelligent young people do not see any difference between the practice of betting and the speculative methods of stock exchange transactions.

The gambling habit calls for the personal and

corporate effort of all who desire the salvation of the community to uproot this menace to the very security and moral stability of civilization. Religion cannot flourish in the person who is addicted to it. Numbers leave the churches as the result of its degenerative tendency. The love of honest work dies, and the moral sense withers in relation to commercial activity.

Militarism is another serious menace. Its origin dates from the earliest years of man. Its modern features are due to the policy of Frederick the Great, who was a pioneer of universal military conscription, and due also to Bismarck's plan of assuming the function of dictator of the continent. The consequence was that Europe rapidly became an armed camp. The new gospel found ardent advocates like Renan in France and Admiral Mahan in America. Indeed, in all countries there was an influential group of military, political and financial leaders who openly proclaimed the advantages of large armies. Every argument that ingenuity could suggest was forthcoming to strengthen the case for an armed peace. War was regarded as one factor of human progress, and biological and physiological considerations were called in to indicate the good effects of militarism.

The struggle between those who advocate a more civilized conception of life and those who cling to the security of military efficiency is acute to-day. But surely man is made for nobler ends. His destiny is not to be measured in the terms of fighting. Man can never become his best in the

atmosphere and ideals of war. Nor does the idea of war fit in with the fundamental order of the universe. It is a grotesque misconception of the moral possibilities of personality, and it ignores the triumphs which can be won by the power of love, mercy and truth. It is the product of imperfect civilizations. It stunts body, mind and spirit. It feeds upon unholy ambition, national hates, racial pride, fostered and sincere fear, and the predatory national tendencies of the love of wealth and soil. War cannot now pay as a financial venture. Norman Angell's economic statement that no nation will gain in the future by war was eloquently vindicated in the great war, as we know to our cost to-day. War wastes wealth. It wastes men by death and by taking from them the valuable formative years of life. It wastes home and genius. It is the essence of human injustice. It calls youth to die and age to fatten on the plunder of artificially created values. It is the product of un-Christian forces.

Every war will create in future (if there be any more war) a terrible problem for the Christian man, because the moral challenge becomes more intense with increasing light. It will be difficult to avoid war until the majority of the people of each nation will the means for its extinction. Until that day arrives the Christian man is a member of the community in which the civil and political power is wielded by those who can dictate, if necessary, the inauguration of a war, and he is thus confronted with the alternatives of a thorough

and literal loyalty to his faith on the one hand and the claims upon his citizenship on the other. And this difficulty will remain until the Christian idea of life and morality becomes the law of the individual and the law of nations.

In the meantime the introduction of Christian truth and ethics into the nations must be the aim of those who are concerned about the relation of nations to each other.

II.—In Individualism.

THE ultimate oneness of the race, it cannot be too frequently repeated, depends upon the moral and spiritual qualities of the individual. All values, programmes and activities derive their strength from personality. Art, music, literature, poetry, institutions, laws and manifold human relationships require informed personality for their creation, appreciation and their consecration to the moral progress of the community. The fundamental movements of the world are rooted in the motive and ends of individual welfare. Christian missions in foreign lands are inspired by spiritual ideals, and exist to rescue the individual from his numerous thraldoms. Systems of education in all lands aim to create efficient teaching staffs and lessen the size of classes for students in order to improve the intellectual quality of each pupil.

The mass consciousness wields an amazing

influence over the individual, and acts like a mystic multiple personality. It perpetuates custom, and imposes its fluctuating moods upon the unit. It often creates an unconscious docility where there is the irrational boast of a superficial freedom. This is obvious in matters of dress, diet, types of recreation, amusements, reading and even political and ecclesiastical affinities. This mass mind domination is true of communities with an autocratic system of government; it is seen, too, in nations which boast of political freedom and educational advance. Chicago, for example, is an interesting example of the triumph of communal dictation in dress, facial discipline and domestic arrangements.

In the higher reaches of national consciousness there is the same characteristic influence. Peoples develop their own speech, the thought forms in which life finds vocal or literary expression, the special likes and dislikes arising from their outlook, tendency and relation to society as a whole.

The only sure corrective to the dangers of this mass dictation is the development of the individual. Where the majority of a population is ethically robust the type of prevailing sentiment and practice will conform to standards of duty which stimulate personal progress. Robert Owen held that moral force must precede material change; it must also inspire it, or otherwise economic improvement will fail to contribute to the essential good of the community. The value of the emphasis upon moral good is that moral principles are

operative everywhere ; they are not made valid or invalid by the sanctions or domination of any ecclesiastical decree or political manifesto. They may be shelved, misrepresented and misapplied ; the community may miss the logical implications of their august demands, or flout them by the influence of reactionary personalities or a sudden gust of irrational passion. The result will appear sooner or later in the loss of ethical tone in the community and the individual.

The only hope of moral security and progress lies in the redemptive emancipation of each individual. Happily, human personality is in its inmost nature responsive to great ideals, even where decadent forces rule. Paul's description of his pre-christian experience in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans is suggestive. He boldly asserts that there is that in man which never consents to the wrong he does. It is the latent sin in personality which uses the very moral demands for purity for the defeat of the man who wills the good. It is this voiceless longing for freedom from the control of the lower nature which is at once the hope of the Gospel and the master problem of the ages. And every effort at human emancipation is but the dim or vivid realisation of the urge towards a fuller experience of the meaning of life. A signal illustration of this is the newer movement among the women of the East for deliverance from the thraldom of the harem. At an Egyptian bazaar recently held the women invited representative men on the second

day to join in the sights and sales. The movement for more complete self-government in India, and the passion for independence in Egypt reveal the deep yearning of the human soul for the emancipation of life from its subjections, even though the forms of expression suggest peril as well as promise.

But the true life of man is not found within his unaided self. His life from God is set in a framework and in an environment not friendly to self-realisation. He is a "bundle of remainders." He carries within him ancestries, histories and strange tendencies. He is unlike the mouse that Burns turned up with the plough when its brood were bereft of a home. Man looks before and after, and is often wearied and confused with "the greatness of his way." Sin is always waiting to spring into life in him. He is beset by an army of sinister intangible suggestions. And the way out of this struggle of the soul is the supreme problem of the world. Kidd does not see quite clearly the bigness of the problem in his book, *The Science of Power*. He holds that it is possible to change the current of a people's life in a generation or two. He takes the case of Germany and Japan to prove his contention. These nations are in two contrasting continents and stand for special types of civilization. Take Germany first. It is not a far cry to the Germany of the great idealists. Fifty years did much to change the ethic and the outlook of the nation. It is an interesting study to trace the influences by means of which Bismarck produced a serious change in

the German nation of the ideal and function of nationality. It seems only yesterday since Japan was an insignificant oriental Power. She discovered in the adoption of Western science and organization the means of commercial progress which makes her one of the great world powers to-day. And Kidd maintains that the change in any civilization can be wrought in a surprisingly brief period if there is the will to accomplish it.

Kidd's facts are right, but his deductions are not warranted by the facts. It is important to note the motives by which the changes in these two nations occurred. What was the ideal of Bismarck? It was the ideal of power. The ideal of Japan was wealth. Both ideals are legitimate if they spring from true moral conceptions of national duty, but both can become the agents of sinister reactionary ends. Both appeal to man as he is, and are in harmony with the unregenerate tendencies in human nature. Unless subject to moral and spiritual principles their sure fruit must be the production of personal and national degeneration, resulting in the emergence of the will to national ascendancy and war.

Christianity makes another order of appeal and approaches the problem of the world in a new way. It demands a change in man, a new way of thinking, and a completely new experience. It does not produce a new nature but a new quality of life, in which man begins to live and act as Christ lived and acted. It is this universal life in Christ which secures the real oneness of the world.

The secret of internationalism is biological before it is intellectual, constitutional or institutional. It is redemptive before it is remedial and communally reconstructive. This is the glory of Christianity. Its genius destroys ruinous barriers and divisions. It is this which every statesman who is seriously working for the creation of an international order of society desires, even though he is not conscious of the means of its creation. What he terms public spirit and right public opinion is what the believer in Christ calls conversion.

Christianity begins with the individual, and the value of it in his life is twofold. (1) He must be born again, born from above. R. L. Stevenson held that every growing mind is frequently reborn. New aspects and deeper grasps of life and its meaning arrive which supersede the previous immaturity of interpretation. But the change which Christianity demands and provides is of a higher order. It is more than moral mastery or an accession of moral energy. It is not simply the emancipation of the intelligence. It is not only the awakening of the implicit forces of consciousness. Coue's psychological explanation of the triumph of life is to be found in the imagination. He says, "What makes us act is not the will but the imagination." The central transformation is produced by union with Christ. This is the beginning of a true man, the moulding and unifying secret of a truly developing personality. The forms of its expression will be partly determined

by the special type of civilization in which the redeemed man lives, by the national by-laws, and by the standards of conduct which regulate society. But these must not determine the standards of personal conduct. The standards of duty are set out for the Christian in Christological and Apostolic ethics, and in the spacious exegesis of the warnings and triumphs of the Christian centuries. Courage is of the essence of this new life, and a moral sanity which avoids the morbidly critical examination of the loyalty of the soul on the one hand and a craven opportunism on the other.

Here is the secret energy and reforming zeal to be found which constitutes the soul of progress. It is the experience of personal religion which explains the work of Wyclif and Luther, of Wesley and General Booth. The great currents of life which have watered the dry regions of an arid ecclesiasticism and reactionary and soulless periods of human history have been provided by the men and women who have found their life in Christ. Hence what is first required is not knowledge but redeemed experience. Life is always more than the intellectual interpretation of it. Harnack is one of the masters of theological and historical learning. He will not be charged with indifference to the claims of intellect. He says, "It is religion, the love of God and neighbour, which gives life a meaning; knowledge cannot do it. Let me, if you please, speak of my own experience, as one who for thirty years has taken

an earnest interest in these things. Pure knowledge is a glorious thing, and woe to the man who holds it light or blunts his sense of it. But to the question, Whence, whither, or to what purpose, it gives an answer to-day as little as it did two or three thousand years ago. It does indeed instruct us in facts; it detects inconsistencies; it links phenomena; it corrects the deceptions of sense and idea. But where and how the curve of the world and the curve of our own life begin—that curve of which it shows us only a section—and whither this curve leads, knowledge does not tell us. Yet if with a steady will we affirm the forces and the standards which on the summits of our inner life shine out as our highest good, nay, as our real self; if we are earnest and courageous enough to accept them as the great Reality and direct our lives by them; and if we then look at the course of mankind's history, follow its upward development, and search, in strenuous and patient service, for the communion of minds in it, we shall not faint in weariness and despair, but become certain of God, of the God whom Jesus Christ called His Father, and who is also our Father."[1]

The search for intellectual certitude must be accompanied by the assurance of experience. The credulous and superstitious attitude can only be corrected by the effort to base faith on a reasonable basis, but the new difficulties which confront the mind in the interpretation of nature are sufficient to make the serious student hesitate in any attempt

[1] Harnack, *What is Christianity?* pp. 305, 306.

to build certainty upon an intellectual basis alone. Intellect cannot probe the meaning of life. Our instincts, however, provide us with the possibility of biological certainty. There are two great instincts of personality, viz., faith and love, which enable the believer to experience the power of Jesus Christ. The first is faith. Faith is an accompaniment of childhood and youth. It is the power by which we venture in all forms of social and reforming enterprises. It is the spring of those risks which persons and communities run in the pioneer days of redemptive movements. And it is faith allied with Christ which the world needs. It needs faith as an energy and then as a vision. International suspicion and class and industrial cleavage will not disappear until men have learned to trust each other. Love is the second great asset of experience. It is manifest in some elementary beginnings in the natural world. It is constantly cropping up in the moods of childhood ; it explains the reconciliation of boys after their battles ; it is part of the stuff of which day-dreams are composed ; it unites in youth two hearts into one, not to be severed until the twilight hours arrive ; it is manifest in the thousand ministries of the mature years, where need calls and duty is cheerfully accepted without any reward except the joy of loving. It perpetuates the unobtrusive philanthropies which preserve the sweetness of life amid its hardening processes. It is expulsive, explosive, creative. But these three results of its operation can only come through the

love of Christ. The spiritual energy in the love of Christ drives its possessor to hitherto unimaginable tasks in which the sacrificial ideal becomes a passion, and the larger good of humanity more important than considerations of personal ease and interest. This love makes the world akin. Whatever the sphere of action and the task assigned, the labourer sees the far horizons and forgets the artificial boundaries created by unethical civilizations. He belongs to the freemasonry of a redemptive international outlook.

When Christian faith and love are united with knowledge there can be no contentment with the thraldom of custom or unworthy submission to the triumph of cruelty, injustice, or anything which splits the race into reactionary camps for demoniacal purposes. We would then be on the track of the solution of the grave problems involved in the submerging of the individual in the tendencies to mass movements. Besides, the domestic centre would be the nursing ground of idealism and spiritual values, instead of, as it often now is, a mere training ground for a money-making career. A welcome sanity of judgment would be born ; the illusion of the predestined right of special bloods and breeds to dictate the movement of human society would disappear ; the grotesque fears and exaggerations of the privileged classes in view of the rising tide of democracy would vanish. The wholly mischievous effects of trusts, national and international, which exist only for profits, and heed not the claims of humanity, would be impossible.

Mistaken conceptions of government are due to the absence of faith in personality and the ambition for domination where lovelessness is the characteristic feature of strength. A mad and pitiless folly, as Erasmus taught, claims the world as its temple, the instincts are starved, and truth ignored. The so-called saviours of Russia, Lenin and Trotsky, have enthroned and applied theories of government and methods of State construction which exceed in cruelty the worst days of the Czars. Turkish statesmanship in its treatment of subject races with foreign blood in their veins is due to the neglect of Christian love and faith. And this explains, too, the Western peril of regarding the black and yellow peoples as implicit enemies in some future day when the issue of race dominance will be decided upon the battlefield.

But in order that the redeemed life, replete with faith and love, may be uniformly sane and beneficent in its operations there must be unfaltering fidelity to the ethical message of the New Testament. The signs of the times point to a revival of a simple, intelligent and fearless application of the principles of the word and work of Christ to individual and communal life as the next essential step upward in the ascent of man. The return to the New Testament must be ethical as well as evangelical. Every great opportunity of the church of God in over nineteen centuries has been lost because precision of theological statement seemed more important than the moral demands of Christ. Forsyth says that "the Reformation carries down with it

much of the débris of mediæval doctrine ; because at its source, in the monk Luther, it was mainly a religious and ethical change rather than a theological" This is partly true, but the main charge against it is that it was not ethical enough. Nor is personal religion either sufficiently robust or ethical to-day. The measure of the distance between Christian faith and practice is seen in the numberless cases of private and public men. There are leaders of modern movements applauded by the time server and the worldling who, if the Gospel ethic were courageously preached and practised by them, would be hounded out of public life. It is a difficult world still for any man who determines to live the full Christian life.

But the loyalty of the individual to the Christian ethic is urgent for two reasons. (1) The direction of any community is largely conditioned by the moral quality of its leadership. The need of the African continent will be the emergence of native prophets who will be able to unify and inspire the blacks with the vision of lofty ideals of conduct and moral methods of interpreting life and duty. India is facing serious dangers because her temporary spokesman, Ghandi, does not perceive that India's supreme concern should be moral and spiritual regeneration rather than racial exclusiveness. A serious condition of Japanese influence in the future will be the directive force of great moral leaders who will concentrate on the moral friendship of yellow and white rather than on alien soils for surplus populations. The test of Chinese

stability at present and for some time to come will be the direction of her vast millions by men who see the wisdom of blending a domestic morality with the ethical principles of Christianity in the creation of a moral national consciousness. The very existence of Russia as a necessary civilization for the enrichment of the world depends in some degree on leaders who will mould a splendid peasantry and a richly endowed nation on the principles of the New Testament. (2) The new era of democratic freedom must be made safe by the multiplication of persons who will be governed from within by the principles of New Testament revelation. There is no alternative basis that is fundamentally true, or that provides the oneness of moral activity necessary for the stable and peaceful permanent unification of human society.

III.—In Internationalism.

THE signs of the times unquestionably point to the alternatives of the destruction or progress of man as the dominant issue of the future. The triumph of goodness will be neither swift nor easy. Those who imagine that there is a short cut to the millennium cannot have read the inwardness of the story of the long struggle of man to arrive at the present elementary stage of civilization of

the most advanced peoples. History is a good tonic for the ailment of a superficial impatience. A study chair musing or uninformed dreaming is only placed in its true setting when confronted with a piece of detailed historical study, in which the student is aware of the vast difficulties of inertia, intellectual antagonism, deeply rooted prejudices and the numberless motives and plans and interests which have to be fought and partly mastered before an inch or two of real progress can be registered. Nor can the easy going optimist have made a very careful attempt to estimate the strength of the reactionary forces at work in the world to-day, and the difficulty of marshalling and unifying the Christian men and women of the world for great common redemptive ends. For these people, with whom the hope of the future rests, are confronted with a twofold situation which daily becomes more real and serious. (1) Their faith on its spiritual side compels them to believe in the ultimate redemption of the world, even though in vast numbers of cases they have not given much consideration to the moral demands which that faith makes upon their judgment, convictions, sympathies and possessions. (2) They are citizens of a nation as well as the pedestrians to another country. They are related to a precise type of civilization as well as to the kingdom of God as a personal experience. Their relation to their land and people is much more tangible and objectively immediate than their relation to the universal ends of Christianity. The result is that

geography, friendships, blood and tradition incessantly mould and condition their thinking, and in a world crisis there is the inevitable struggle between the obligations of their faith and the demands which the State, of which they are citizens, makes upon them.

These considerations serve to suggest that they are not the most reliable guides and inspirers who fail to appreciate the nature of the task to which Jesus came to put His hand, and which He will never relinquish until it is accomplished. The ultimate issue is in His keeping, but the victory will not be soon. As Sir Oliver Lodge would say, man is only beginning. Dr. Woodrow Wilson's faith is needed for the modern toiler in the field of duty. He says, "The peoples of the world are awake and the peoples of the world are in the saddle. Private counsels of statesmen cannot now and cannot hereafter determine the destinies of nations. If we are not the servants of the opinions of mankind, we are of all men the littlest, the most contemptible, the least gifted with vision. If we do not know our age, we cannot accomplish our purpose, and this age is an age which looks forward not backward; which rejects the standards of national selfishness that once governed the counsels of nations and demands that they shall give way to a new order of things in which the only questions will be, 'Is it right?' 'Is it just?' 'Is it in the interest of mankind?'"

Internationalism has become the watchword of the new era for those who long for the removal of

the forces which are alien to the harmony and brotherhood of nations. The dangers which threaten the serious postponement of the realisation of a federation of the peoples are very numerous and potent.

Influential cynicism is ever and anon stating its frigid despair and its ethical irrationalism, and cynicism is always rooted in an anti-christian view of life and, therefore, in a hopeless mockery of human nature. The most recent mouthpiece of the cynical attitude to life is Lord Birkenhead. He does condescend to say that "every sane and normal citizen must desire improvement in the standards of purity and morality." He also says that when Jesus taught the severe demands that His message makes upon His disciples He did not really mean what He said, but was simply "diffusing through the medium of a metaphor a sweet and beautiful moral atmosphere for the purification of imperfect manhood." "The school of Idealism is the very antithesis of the school of self-interest. And yet nothing is more apparent than that politically, economically, and philosophically the motive of self-interest not only is, but must be, and ought to be, the mainspring of human conduct." Twenty-four years ago, when the then Czar of Russia declared his hope that war might be abolished, Birkenhead stated that "no sensible person with the slightest knowledge of history will believe that human nature has so profoundly altered as to afford the most remote prospect that this dream will ever be realised," and he thinks

that this faith of his was completely justified by the war that broke out a few years later between Russia and Japan.. He has very little faith in the large aims of the League of Nations. "Its framers forgot human nature as absurdly as they neglected history." If they had given a moment's consideration to Darwin and to the Old Testament, and the rise and decay of ancient peoples, they would not have created it. And Birkenhead, whilst referring to the message of Jesus Christ as "tender in its simplicity, and superhuman in its humanity," whose power as a crucified Lord "was to spread with incredible swiftness over a large part of the world's surface," asks "what was its influence over the recent world convulsion." He sees no change in human nature since the war of 1914. The Treaty of Versailles is imperfect because there were "infirmities in human nature which cannot be corrected," and the "human nature of democracies will not undergo much modification. His only hope is in the gospel of force, because human nature, as far as he can look into the future, is likely to be what it is to-day." "The ceaseless process of evolution and adjustment" "has been sometimes pacific, but more often it has resulted from warlike disturbance. The strength of different nations, measured in terms of arms, varies from century to century. The world continues to offer glittering prizes to those who have stout hearts and sharp swords ; it is therefore extremely improbable that the experience of future ages will differ in any material respect from that which has

happened since the twilight of the human race."

These hopeless and cynical convictions would be serious if they were merely the views of their author. But their gravity lies in their incalculable and representative character. They are the voice of many influential personalities in all the countries of the world, and especially in nations where Christianity has scarcely gained a footing. Lord Birkenhead was for some time the Lord Chancellor of the mightiest and most beneficent nation which has existed in human history, and inasmuch as democratic nations come to expression in their leaders it would be a cardinal error of judgment to ignore the seriousness of his utterances. And it is this unethical outlook on man which is probably the most serious danger which confronts the movements which exist to lift the race out of its historic way of looking at the world, and placing humanity upon a moral and spiritual foundation, on which the eternal city may be erected.

Allied to this influential loyalty to a military view of life is the peril arising from the existing situation in Europe. The supposed triumphs of the recent war have created a new crop of international difficulties. There has never been witnessed in any period such a wealth of new nations, who have obtained their birthright of national independence. A new Middle Europe has been created, and the key to the problem of European peace and the harmony of the world probably is to be found in the creation of a right atmosphere among these

new and the older peoples. The difficulties here are not only economic and political ; they are personal and moral. These peoples exist in various grades of morality ; and diversity of moral outlook in the interpretation of the status and function of nationality is one of the problems of internationalism. The tendency is for new peoples, surrounded by a cluster of nations, to place their trust in material and military strength and security. Especially is this tendency real at a moment when, after a war which was to destroy war, there are more soldiers on a war footing, and a greater military expenditure in Europe than in 1913. Besides, these new and old nations possess national memories of feuds, injustices and unjustifiable cruelties which engender suspicion, and which for some time will make them unduly afraid of even whispered suspicions of troubles. Further, they are likely for a long time to come to be resentful of any interference with their supposed rights. In addition much depends upon the personalities who will direct the policy and destiny of these infant and more mature peoples, and whether they pursue a democratic or autocratic course. Statesmanship is not made to order, it cannot appear at the crack of any sectional or sinister whip. It requires a true national consciousness and a people with moral passion in its soul, and these Eastern European nations need far seeing and ethical leaders probably more than anything else. If they are led by men who forget the world ideal of right government, and who are simply the

mouthpiece of an arrogant nationalism, then the outlook is black indeed, because it will be easy to think more of the aggrandisement of the State than of the persons who belong to it.

This danger of a mischievous and exaggerated nationalism has been apparent in a few striking instances recently. When an Italian officer of distinction was murdered not long ago it would naturally have been expected that Italy would have submitted its case against Greece to the judgment of the League of Nations. Unfortunately, Italy is ruled for the moment by the iron will of a self-created autocrat who goes out of his way to indicate his deep antagonism to the very idea of democracy. And autocrats, by their very genius, brook no interference from any authority. Almost before the ink of the Italian pledge to the League of Nations was dry he ignored it, and determined that he would settle the grievance with Greece by the argument of further bloodshed. France has treated the instrument for the ordered government of the world, and which she did much to create, in the same way. In the case of France there are those memories of recent dangers, and of geographical dangers, too, which make submission to the extraneous tribunal difficult. And this point reveals the peril which, in the present moral condition of civilization, is always present in international affairs, viz., that of submitting matters on which a nation may be extremely sensitive to the verdict of an outside authority. We are far from the days when, as Ruskin says, " to the Greek a voyage

to Egypt or the Hellespont was the subject of lasting fame and fable, and the forests of the Danube and the rocks of Sicily closed for him the gates of the intelligible world." The limitation to-day is not geographical. Remoteness has been destroyed. The limitation is psychological; it is moral; it is the reluctance by the leading nations to trust the moral judgment and fair play of nations. It is the faith which still trusts to the sharp sword for the realisation of national aims. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that small nations are extremely nervous, and are the subjects of an atmospheric fear in which the fair plant of mutual national confidence grows very slowly. They know, too, how reluctant some of the great nations are to trust their world relationships to a tribunal in which the weaker nations will have a voice.

America is an illustration of the extreme caution of committing the whole future of the international relations of a people to an international tribunal. A great change is taking place in the American mind, yet it is unlikely that Uncle Sam will take his courage in both hands and venture completely. He may agree to enter the Permanent Court of International Justice, become an associate member of the League of Nations, reserving, at any rate, for some time the rights of the Monroe doctrine, refusing the obligation to use force for the settlement of disputes, and refusing also to interfere in the domestic relations of other people or to allow foreign interference in the questions which are the

concern of America alone. The promise of a beginning in the government of the world is welcome, but the caution is indicative of the sensitiveness of the prevailing nationalism. One of the untabulated world dangers here is whether the mood of fear or the mood of trust will win, and it is important that the nations are led by patient statesmanship. Browning's *Lucia* is necessary:

> "If we could wait! The only fault's with time;
> All men become good creatures; but so slow!"

But what ultimate hope is there in nationalism unless it is based upon the ethical principles and spirit of Jesus Christ? And how can this be secured except by the increase of men and women who will pledge themselves to stand by these principles and live by this spirit? Where else is hope to be found? But this solution of the problem of a robust, progressive, beneficent and peaceful nation is adequate for our time and for all time.

Another danger to a true internationalism is the absence of a redemptive and ethical recognition of the value and equality of the races of man. The peoples of Western Europe and America for generations have been accustomed to regard the blacks as suitable only for inferior forms of life, and to-day regard them as beasts of burden, and the yellow nations as of a lower order of personality. The doctrine of human equality is still discarded by vast numbers of people in the more advanced nations. This belief is based upon prejudice and

the racial snobbery which thrives in Western suburbanism and in the strongholds of political reaction. Fortunately the case for the essential resemblances between black and white in intellectual, emotional and moral capacity will be irresistible sooner or later in the light of the achievements of the black in every realm of human activity. There is a sense in which in some respects he has not reached the level of experience of the higher races, but, as every student knows, this is a matter of opportunity rather than of essential inferiority.

In America and South Africa he is constantly reminded of his present subject condition. He is in many centres not allowed to ride in the trams which white people use or to purchase goods in shops which the whites frequent. Basil Matthews, in his Wycliffe Wilson lecture of 1923, gives the case of Dr. Aggrey, a "young African negro, born in the Fanti tribe on the Gold Coast of West Africa." He was educated in the Wesleyan College which was originally a slave castle. He is now a Professor in America. Not long ago he was kicked off lifts and trams in his African journeys in furtherance of the cause of the black. He told Basil Matthews that on his voyage to England the steward said to him, "I am very sorry, but the white passengers will hardly like you being at the same table. We shall have to put you at a separate table by yourself." "See the joke?" he said to me. I said, "No." "Well, you see," he replied, "there were eleven of them

with one waiter, and I had one waiter all to myself." This detestable and inhuman treatment of the black races will be the congenial soil for sinister ideas in their relation to European and American civilizations. If people are treated constantly as inferiors, and yet know that there is not the slightest reason for the distinction there is the danger on a wide scale of the accumulation of hatreds which may constitute one of the gravest problems of the future. That way ruin lies. America and Britain are faced with a serious responsibility and a serious challenge to loyalty to their world task of human liberation.

The relation of East and West is a matter of the utmost concern. The American and Canadian attitude to Japanese immigration bristles with difficulties, and is, in the present state of international affairs, a constant source of sullen irritation. The rapid increase of the Japanese people makes the question of finding the necessary soil for her surplus and enterprising sons an urgent one. One form of the question is what is known as the Australian problem. Within a comparatively short distance from Japan is the island continent with a population about the size of London, and which, at the present rate of immigration, is not likely to be peopled by Britishers to any adequate degree for generations. In this case will Japan remain content with her exclusion from a continent which her surplus population could enter? China and Japan number twenty-five per cent. of the population of the world. Their rapid efficiency

in militarism and their equally rapid progress in industrial equipment constitute a serious world problem in the relations of the continents to each other.

The doctrine of self-determination, too, is emerging in surprising forms in Asia. Three aspects of it at present give food for reflection to all who are concerned in the moral welfare of nations and races. The gospel of self-determination was proclaimed during the recent war as the right of the small nations who were struggling to be free. But a right which was sought by the European is now being claimed by the Asiatic, and the most remarkable movements in Asiatic history are in process of formation. Basil Matthews recently had a conversation with a French leader, M. Allegret, who spent five years in the Cameroons. Matthews asked him what impressions he had formed about the Cameroons. "Oh," he answered. "Both in the political sphere and in the Church the great cry among the people all through these villages is, 'Africa for the Africans.'"

The white man has hitherto dominated the rest of the world, owned the greater part of the soil and controlled the black races. The British Empire represents one-quarter of the surface of the earth, and 450,000,000 people, of whom 350,000,000 are Asiatics, 50,000,000 are Africans, the rest being British and Colonials. The Russian Empire covers 8,500,000 miles of territory, and has an immense population. France possesses 5,000,000 square miles, with a home population of about 39,000,000.

America stands for an empire of 3,000,000 square miles, and a population of more than 100,000,000. In addition America exercises a self-created and humane oversight of the vast republics of South America. These nations possess or control nearly two-thirds of the land surface of the globe, and represent either in territorial rights or in mandatory functions considerably more than half of the human race.

And from these subject peoples comes the increasing plea for liberty to work out their own destiny on their own lines. We may witness some startling manifestations of this new feature of the human race. The Turkish Empire is revealing profound changes in its aims and functions. Angora is now the geographical centre of Turkey, and the dream of an imperial movement for the establishment of a Turkish Empire stretching from the Bosphorus to the borders of India is slowly assuming a practical form. The same passion for the self-determination of peoples is revealed in the ideal of the Arabians, who are discussing the possibility of a Pan-Arabian movement which will stretch from the Persian Gulf to the North of Africa, with Mecca and Medina as the strategic centres. The first step in the programme has been taken in the proclamation of a new king of Arabia. Egypt has already acquired virtual independence. Ghandi in India is persistently working for the recognition of the complete independence of India. He advocates the return of Indians to the days before Western science invaded the country, and

the adoption of the Indian manner of life which existed before the Westernization of the East.

This surging tide of self-determination is full of Eastern hopes and dangers. In itself there can be no objection to it. It is natural that with the advance of education and the increase of personal freedom the love of political independence for the community should develop. But independence allied to a desire for isolation and non-co-operation with the rest of the world is a false conception of the idea and implications of freedom. Freedom only finds itself in the ideal of fellowship. Besides, it is in a spirit of wise co-operation that new peoples are able to exercise the necessary restraints upon the turbulence and ambitions of irresponsible personalities and groups within the nation.

The situation is further complicated by the new movement in the Moslem world. For centuries the Sultan of Turkey has combined the religious and political functions in the affairs of the Turkish Empire. This combination of duties has been a fruitful source of European troubles for generations, and the main cause of the periodic massacres of subject peoples in the Turkish Empire who refused to accept the Mohammedan faith. At last a welcome step has been taken. Mustapha Kemal Pasha said not long ago that "religion in the State must be separated entirely from politics." If his idea is that religion suffers by political alliance with the State, and that their constitutional severance will help the cause of religion and

moralize the government of the State, then this surprising achievement in the disestablishment of religion may be regarded as a welcome indication of the wisdom and worth of the new Turkish leadership. In any case the legal separation of religion and politics is right. But if it mean that the new leaders are determined to ignore religion altogether as a hindrance to the highest welfare of the community the Eastern movement for independence may develop along difficult lines.

A new menace to the peaceful progress of the future is the amazing advance of scientific research. The secret investigations of the front rank nations are creating a new sense of fear. Already influential voices talk lightly of the next war. Man's advance in science is threatening to outgrow his control of it. Three military experts of England, France and Germany recently discussed the possibilities of the future in the application of science to warfare; their contributions appeared in the New York *Herald*. They agree that in another war European civilization might be blotted out, and that America would suffer too. Commander Burney, the British contributor, writes:

"There is scarcely a city in America which could not be destroyed, together with every living person therein, within, say, three days of the declaration of war between America and such a country as Japan on the Asiatic side, or a new group, such as Russia, Germany, and Bulgaria from the European side. I do not say that this is possible to-day, but assuming that the technical

possibilities which now exist in plan and on paper are translated into actual fact within, say, ten years, I believe that I have not overstated the possibilities.

"..... Within ten years we shall see fleets of airships with speeds of 100 miles an hour carrying aeroplanes whose speeds will probably be between 200 and 300 miles an hour. As a consequence of this development America will be much closer to Europe or Japan in actual time than Spain was to England 100 years ago. It is therefore evident that America will be as closely related in political affairs with Europe and Asia as was Spain with England in the sixteenth century. In fact the proximity will be more pronounced, as an airship leaving Japan could, within forty-eight hours, be destroying San Francisco. Similarly, an airship leaving Europe could be attacking New York in less than forty hours after her departure.

"..... With regard to poison gas, the attack would perhaps be even more insidious. Gases now exist that are more than a thousand times as powerful as anything used in the late war, and on a still day I venture to think that containers carrying gas instead of explosives would kill more people than the same weight of bombs. There is one gas which is so powerful that the person inhaling it would be killed instantaneously.

"..... A poisonous gas has been discovered, the so-called Lewisite gas, against which no gas-mask will be a protection. ..... The air squadrons will drop their poisons and fire bombs down upon

the cities of the enemy, and Europe will be reduced to ruins. This will mean the destruction of culture and civilization."

We are back again to the primeval days of man, the only difference in some respects being a thin veneer of knowledge and improved methods of slaughter. Some of the greatest chemists in the world are engaged in the most thorough scientific investigations in order to discover new and more efficient ways of killing human beings. The governments of the great nations, whose mission ought to be the introduction of a new order into society, in which the individual will get his opportunity for self-development and self-expression, are paying substantial sums of money annually to experts in the art of furnishing new weapons of death. And yet masses of men and women in our own and other countries are dependent for their livelihood upon the barest pittance from the State, and an enormous number of youths who left school six years ago have not been able to secure an hour's training in order to fit them for a useful career.

Where is this world madness going to end? When will peoples and governments face faithfully their duty in view of this appalling menace to the security of humanity? The truth is that we have no nation or government sufficiently Christian to risk their future in the cause of international concord. Governments think in the terms of what is possible in a given situation, and are not able to go far in front of public opinion; and in lieu of an

isolated courage they are pleading for the promotion of a common understanding on the limitation of armaments in order to lessen the possibilities of war.

The science which has stimulated the tendency to the war mind has also internationalized industry and commerce. The ocean and the air are the means of the world interchange of agricultural and manufactured products. Great business concerns have their agents and offices in all the nations. The capital of one nation is invested in the industrial enterprises of others. Many governments of nations to-day are maintained and their credit stabilized by the investments of persons from many lands. British and American financiers reap part of their profits from goods purchased in Asia, and which are consumed in South Africa. South African gold-diggers produce the necessary material for the security of international trade. British ships carry the goods of all the nations over the oceans; the mercantile marine firms think constantly and naturally in the terms of international wealth. The world is their parish.

A modern home is a partial epitome of the industrial work of a world. A British suburban house may contain articles whose raw materials came from Bilboa and from the forests of Sweden. Some of the carpets may be the work of Eastern artists, and the pictures on the walls may be in some cases the work of continental genius. The piano will probably symbolize the story of the evolution of the musical genius of some European

nations. The female decorations will come from the toilers of Japan, the vast fields of Arctic ice and North American territory and from the wealth of the Indian Ocean, in addition to the articles of dress which are produced nearer home. The food of the home will have been grown in Spain, Australia, North and South America, Africa, Asia and in the islands of the seas. A modern home is a text-book in industrial internationalism, and if only the residents could grasp the representative significance of their dwelling-place they would cease to be parochial, and feel, even in a wider sense than Paul looked at the world, that they are debtors to the whole human race. This sense of debtorship would be still more acute if account were taken of the musical masters of the ages whose compositions thrill and reveal through the medium of fingers and keys. Literature, too, will testify in voiceless eloquence to the intellectual unity and unseen solidarity of the thinkers of the ages and the nations. A few hundred volumes on the book shelves are the consecration of a thinking world to the construction of a single home. The morning newspaper, too, is the story of what the world has been doing for twenty-four hours. The debates, tragedies, laughter, struggles, hopes, fears, representative utterances, policies and aims of the world are on the breakfast table for a penny.

No nation can live unto itself. The nation which thinks it can meet its needs within itself is living in a fool's paradise ; and, besides, the facts of the interchange of goods and ideas destroy the validity

of the contention. But unfortunately the spiritual and ethical aspects of commercialism are at a discount in too many influential quarters. The missionary often represents a very different gospel from that propounded by the trader and the manufacturer, who see in the lower grades of civilization the opportunity for quickly made wealth which is denied them, except in times of war, among highly civilized peoples. And a slow process of Westernizing the commercial life of the East is going on, the issues of which will be momentous. In India new factories and businesses are constantly being created. In cotton and jute mills in India there are already over half a million employees.

The human side of Eastern commercialism to-day is appalling. For example, until recently in Kerman and the neighbouring villages in Persia, the workers in the carpet-weaving mills "were employed from early morning to sunset in ill-ventilated and crowded rooms; children as young as five years of age, as well as women, worked under extremely unhealthy conditions, with the result, in many cases, of permanent physical deformity; it was even reported that, in some instances, children had to be carried from their homes to their work because they had become so crippled by their daily task in the factories."

In the textile industry of China "a very large proportion of the operatives are women and children. . . . . Small children are employed in the textile mills and work equally with the adults,

usually twelve hour shifts. . . . . In machine industries the hours are fourteen to seventeen per day. In Hong Kong some girls work 96½ and 82½ hours a week in alternate weeks. Some match factories work their employees from 4 a.m. until 8 p.m., including the young children." A similar condition of things has obtained in India.

A criticism often used against the work of the missionary is that he tends to break the mould of primitive peoples before an adequate civilization has been created in which it is safe to abandon certain native customs. This criticism is unnecessary, for commercialism breaks the ancient moulds very quickly, and even the remote islands of the seas cannot escape the inevitable changes. Basil Matthews gives the case of the island of Raratonga, where John Williams, the missionary, was the first white immigrant. That is less than three generations ago; to-day, instead of the barbarism which John Williams witnessed, the natives ride in their "motor cars to their coral-cement cinemas."

The moral issues which are involved in this industrial penetration of the Eastern and African continents are very serious, and call for the serious consideration of all who are convinced that man doth not live by bread alone. Wherever the populations are industrialized there is the emergence of the social problems of housing, poverty, sanitation and sexual licence which mark the Western towns and cities, but in a much more serious form. And this transition of two

continents to the industrialism of the West is not accompanied by an adequate increase in the knowledge of moral principles, and especially in the knowledge of the Christian ethic. The missionary societies cannot keep pace with commercial advance. Machinery is outstripping grace in the life of the East. What is civilization, therefore, likely to become among nations who have never known Christianity until quite recently? The ethical value of work and wealth, and the truths of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man may not gain a footing over vast sections of the peoples; they will be commercialized before their Christianisation has seriously begun. Soichi Saito, a Japanese scholar and Christian, wrote recently "that the number of able Christian leaders is small." He believes that "the number of Christians is increasing and the present social influence of Christianity is out of all proportion to its numbers; still, when we seek to plan for any great work or look towards the releasing of influences which shall uplift our nation, we are painfully conscious of the weakness of the human forces on which we can rely. Also we feel—what may be rather difficult for Western people to understand—the lack of Christian families to exert their influence upon the character-building of boys and girls, and from which we can secure leadership." His contention is that "the Christian churches in their attempts to meet the present situation are not strong enough to take the lead in the everyday life of the modern world. In the course of conver-

sation, an eminent Japanese business man said to me that in the early period of the Meiji era, missionaries and Christian pastors were the leaders of the new civilization. 'However,' he said, 'the time has passed when the Christians are the leaders of our people. . . . . It is true that our Christian Church as such is no longer leading the nation to-day as much as it once did.' "[1]

The war of 1914 has left certain grave problems for the relations of East and West. Soichi Saito emphasizes, in the article from which the preceding quotations were taken, the difficulty which the war created for Christian teachers. The Japanese argued that the war itself and the failures of the Christian Church made it impossible for them to listen to the Gospel of Christ "as the power of God unto salvation" when "in the lands that call themselves Christian it has proved itself" to be ineffective "in social and international relationships." The international use of the cinema is still further accentuating the antagonism of numbers of people in the East to Christianity. It has become a serious factor in the spread of western practices and customs. For example, the fight between Carpentier and Siki was put upon the screens of all the oriental cinemas. One can easily imagine the impression of race conflict that would be symbolized in the picture. It requires only elementary ethical thinking to perceive the harmful effect upon Asiatic races of this tussle between the

[1] *The International Review of Missions*, October, 1923, pp. 548, 549.

black and white with the gloves. But why bother about the stimulation of race prejudice if only profits can be made by Eastern entertainments?

From whatever point of view the human race is regarded we are confronted with a situation which bristles with difficulties and dangers. Another of these dangers is the existence of a temper of mind in certain Western peoples who think that a clash between the white and yellow races is inevitable in the future, and it is this conception of the relation of the West to the East which makes military commitments or new military enterprises in eastern lands and waters a matter of the utmost significance. It is quite certain that any serious initiative in new methods of Eastern defences by Britain, for example, would be followed by international tension and suspicion in which all efforts to maintain a healthy confidence would be frustrated. China will solve sooner or later her internal difficulties. The parochialism of her fine domestic idea of life will be supplemented by a discovery of her strength in the construction of a truer national consciousness. When that day arrives Japan and China may come to a more friendly understanding, and this yellow combination will only be led into the path of an ethical world fellowship by the Western proofs of a real and enduring recognition and appreciation of their value to the human race as one of the contributory factors to the cause of human progress.

It is fortunate that the best minds of the age are devoting serious attention to the study of the best

way to bring the nations of the world together upon a basis of the frank recognition of the good that each can contribute to the enrichment of humanity. This basis of national recognition and security can be realized along several lines. One promising movement is the rapid disappearance of monarchical despots. Autocracy in government has almost gone. Democracy is at last in the saddle, and though there are occasional lapses from the ideal of liberty in some democratic governments it is probable that the voice of the people will become the supreme influence in the direction of national life. But there is no inherent and necessarily permanent progress in democracy as such. A system of education in which universal history is impartially taught in all the schools of the world would be a formative force in the new generation of the highest value. This education should include some serious introduction to the ethical principles of right thinking and right acting, and also to the poetry, music and art of the ages. This latter department of an indispensable equipment for life would be specially valuable because it has no frontiers. Poetry, music and art at their best represent the language of universal insight, emotion and beauty. These sources of education have both a national and an international aspect. The remembrance that the great masters in the higher branches of culture are found in all the nations, and that while their message is rooted in a soil and a history it is bequeathed to those who seek the truth and soul of things, would act as a

slow and certain corrective of the tendency to divide men and peoples.

But Christ is the supreme need of the world. He is its only hope. His mission is to give life and to give it more abundantly. It is His ethical leadership, however, that is important for our purpose. He teaches that we derive our being from God. Our personality is like that of all other men. We were created to fill a common destiny, and to enjoy a common life. God hath "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Every man is precious to God, and the Divine estimate is revealed in the self-sacrificing character of the ministry of Christ. He taught the essential equality of men and women, the sacredness of marriage, the marriage of one man and one woman, the sanctity of infants and child life, a practical regard for the poor, the joy of a ministry to the weak, frail and erring, and the fact of a brotherhood of all men based upon the confession of the Fatherhood of God. He taught also the essential inwardness of goodness. The great thing is to seek the clean life, and to love God and man. It would be going too far to regard God and man as incomplete without each other. Chesterton, in his book on Browning, says that one of the deepest and most daring aspects of his teaching is the stress which he lays on the incompleteness of God and the incompleteness of man. The doctrine of the Fatherhood of God is not a cold analysis of the nature of God. God seeks man for His own sake as well as for the sake

of man, and the moral and spiritual advance of man adds to the redemptive glory of God. But an ethical teleology is not completely understood until the ultimate goal of the universe is seen in the eternal unity of God and a redeemed humanity. And this ministry of reconciliation hath been committed unto the followers of Christ, Who taught that we must practise an unlimited forgiveness where there is the confession of wrong committed. It is in keeping with this Christian standard that there must be no limit to the sacrificial passion. Spiritual men and communities must place themselves at the disposal of their Lord, and labour and suffer for the betterment and progress of the human race. This vision and duty alone create the atmosphere in which a national utilitarianism gives place to the larger loyalty to imperious moral demands, irrespective of immediate material results.

The ethical message of Jesus is the only way of life which can increasingly and permanently unite individuals and nations. The world requires a richer quality of personality. This does not mean that theology is to be regarded as a detail. No one with an adequate sense of responsibility would desire to sever Christian morality from its basis in the revelation of the Christian idea of God and salvation. But the churches whose supreme task is the redemption of the world must realize more intensely the principles of motive and conduct incumbent upon all who preach and upon all who accept Jesus Christ as Lord. No Christian teacher

or Christian business man should be associated with any movement or trade among backward peoples which is in any way injurious to their moral welfare. Inconsistency of conduct will be fraught with disastrous results. It is for this reason, too, that the churches of Europe and America should set themselves the task of redeeming the European and American peoples. They cannot afford to see the nations, on whose soil they exist, engaged in policies and commerce abroad which are a flat contradiction of the Christian gospel.

The ecclesiastical implications of this representative interest at home and abroad compel the student of international life to face faithfully the problem of our unhappy divisions. Dr. Glover, of Cambridge, has been busy recently in his criticism of the cause of Christian reunion. With his main contention that there can be no coalition with Roman Catholicism, with its historical arrogance and pretensions, its ruinous casuistry and its paralysis of the intellect we are in complete agreement. The serious issues which divide Romanism and Protestantism cannot be ignored if men are honest, and truth the supreme consideration. But is Dr. Glover against any form of Christian reunion? Does he contemplate the permanent acceptance of the small Protestant denominations, as, for example, in England, as indispensable for the evangelization of the world? Is there no prophetic significance in the movements towards the reunion of Protestant churches in

Australia, South Africa, Canada and the United States? If one answer be that Britain is an old country, and that we cannot expect the same results as in virgin countries, it is another way of saying that tradition is stronger than life.

The decline in denominational emphasis is really a sign that the spiritual consciousness of the churches is concentrating on the spiritual, ethical and social implications of the Kingdom of God, and is more concerned about the real progress of the kingdom among the backward peoples of the world than about the propagation of the denomination. It appears to the writer that the continued separateness of many branches of Protestantism is not only unfortunate for the country in which they are found; it is especially unfortunate in the eastern and African lands which must be won for Jesus Christ. Why should European and American Protestantism foist on the African and Oriental their small denominationalisms? What is their value for these peoples? Why should they be trained in these occidental organizations? If the reply is given that denominational aspects are not emphasized then why in the name of sanity cannot the resources of men and money, in those Protestant churches which can unite, be pooled and used solely in the spiritual interests of Asia and Africa? Mr. H. D. Mediwaka, an Indian Christian, says, "We are bewildered at the attempt of the different Christian bodies to introduce wholesale the different sects of the English Churches. In England these divisions have a

historical background, but what do they mean to us here? It is a pity that these bodies cannot change their attitude and attempt a more united effort. Do the missions aim at winning non-Christians to Christ or to the different sects of the Church?"[1]

Fortunately, the East is taking the problem into its own hands. China has already acquired complete ecclesiastical independence, and the day is not far off when India and Japan will adopt the same policy, and the future will witness the welcome departure of the churches in those lands becoming responsible for the conversion of their own people. The suspicions and misunderstandings that arise from the fact that "Christianity comes with the powerful nations of the West" will disappear when the Church in each nation is independent of Western ecclesiastical oversight. For "until Christianity is offered as the force that will not only save the individual but will also mould the national life of the people and make it a living force, the response will be weak."[2]

This method will enable the religious leaders and the rank and file in the churches to forge ahead with eastern evangelism. The nations will soon regard the propagation of Christianity as the work of men who belong to their own race, and it will probably be done with such abandon and thoroughness that it may produce surprising results. Christ will become the central Figure of the East. His

[1] *International Review of Missions*, January, 1924, p. 57.
[2] *International Review of Missions*, January, 1924, p. 55.

home was Asiatic, and a portion of Western Asia formed the scene of His ministry. It was to men who belonged to an Asiatic people that He entrusted the exposition of His message after His death, and commanded them to take it to the uttermost parts of the earth. Asia was the starting point of the supreme universal religion, and it may well prove to be a feature of the twentieth century that Eastern Asia may be one of the fruitful centres of the spread and international power of the Gospel.

The propagation by Eastern churches of the message and work of Christ is one effective way of creating a right spirit in the relations of East and West, and thus prevent the development of race antagonisms between Europe and America and Asia.

Two main results will follow the newer method of eastern responsibility for the furtherance of Christianity. (1) The moral value of Christ's message will become increasingly significant. Christ is the supreme hope of women, and especially of widows, in the East. The Hindu treatment of women is one of the terrible aspects of Hindu morality. They are doomed from birth to death to an infamous inferiority, and to exile from the natural enjoyment of life. The example of Jesus will become the creative ideal of an era of female liberation, especially if it is accompanied by a satisfactory system of education. And Christ's condemnation of polygamy will tend more and more to the establishment of a higher domestic morality, and this will become more pronounced,

as in Mohammedan countries, when women secure substantial instalments of social and political freedom. The New Testament doctrine of brotherhood will be applied in a new way as the result of the rise of an independent Indian Church life. The problem of rescuing the poorer classes of India, difficult as it is, is not the greatest problem of India. These people see the obvious gain to them in the acceptance of Christianity, and their conversion by mass movements in recent years has enabled them to maintain, through their spiritual changes, their fellowship with the people whom they have known. The crux of India's problem is the conversion of the high caste Hindu. He will be won partly by the self-sacrificing example of the servants of Christ; but, unlike the lower grades of society, he has everything to lose, as he conceives life, by embracing Christianity. The idea of a moral brotherhood of men of all classes and peoples and tongues, united by allegiance to a loving Father, may make slow headway with him. It is probable that the influence of an Indian Church will operate in his case as the message of Paul worked amidst the conditions of slavery. The caste idea may not be broken by the insistence on an immediate severance from a system with deep traditional roots, or by the emphasis upon some Western symbol of change; it will probably be by the increase of converts who, living within the system until they are sufficiently numerous, will be able to bring about the gradual disintegration of the system.

Similar beneficent results will follow the progress of Christianity in Africa. A new day is dawning for the women of Africa. Man is being taught his responsibility for the maintenance of his home, and the new value of women in the insistence on monogamous marriage. Family life will no longer be continued on the basis of a commercial conception of marriage, or a commercial idea of the value to be attached to the marriages of sons and daughters. Slavery will disappear.

(2) The conversion of the East will be accomplished by Eastern Christians. The ethics of the Gospel will be rooted in their own interpretation of what the Gospel means. "By Christianity is meant those facts of the religious life, that manifestation of the character of God and of His relation to man, which we owe to Jesus Christ. By our Western interpretation of it we mean the significance of those facts which has presented itself to the Western mind, and which the Western mind has formulated for itself. India is in the direst need of those facts; she has no need whatever of our theories. The giving of the one means life and liberty; the imposing of the other means death and slavery."[1] The supreme need of India, as, indeed, of Asia as a whole, is an ethical religion. There is an almost complete absence of any ethical idea of God. The moral personality of God is non-existent. Similarly, there is no clear idea of what is meant by man. The idea of human individuality as taught and lived by Jesus

[1] Bernard Lucas, *The Empire of Christ*, p. 73.

has no place in Hindu thought. Hence there can be no vision of the great moral laws of the universe which are revealed in "the mind and will of God." For the Hindu it is escape from life rather than from sin that is his supreme concern. Deliverance is by means of release from the consciousness of life. "The Christian conception of salvation as the complete transformation of life, a radical reconstruction of his environment on the lines of the Divine ideal as revealed in the life and teaching of Jesus, is that one thing which the Hindu needs for the realisation of capabilities at present lying dormant in his nature. Sin has to be seen in the light of the cross, in the death agony of the Divine Ideal. It is there that the real effect of man's actual on God's ideal can alone be realized. The Hindu has seen sin as a hindrance to the attainment of his own imaginary ideal; he has not seen it as the destruction of the Divine ideal. He has regarded it as a deformity inherited from birth; he has not seen it as a disease acquired by unhealthy living, and fatal in its results. To the Hindu, salvation is a mechanical process started in an eternity which is behind him, to be completed in an eternity which is in front of him; and in that process his own part consists in absolute passivity. It has absolutely no moral contents, it calls forth no moral enthusiasm, it makes demand upon no divine moral effort."[1]

Indian Christians will make their own contribution to the ethical and spiritual interpretation of

[1] Bernard Lucas, *The Empire of Christ*, p. 96.

the Gospel in their efforts to save their nation, and this will also be done among all the nations of the East. Only when the national consciousness of each nation is inspired and controlled by the will and love of God will there be the reign of enduring peace and the sense of a real brotherhood of peoples.

The gradual Christianisation of the nations is not the only solution of the international problem. This work in the nature of things will require long periods for its consummation, and meanwhile society in its multiplicity of moral grades must be governed upon some satisfactory basis of law and order. The authority for the creation, interpretation and application of law must be sufficiently representative of the public conscience of the world to command respect and to enforce its decisions. It is in the enforcement of its verdicts in international government that the supreme struggle for the establishment of enduring international peace centres. As has been indicated earlier in this chapter nations are hesitant in their attitude on this point. Yet it is the only hope of the enthronement of public law in the international order. When disputes arise between families or business men they are compelled to state their case before a magisterial tribunal, and they abide by the verdict. When two townships cannot settle a question which may have arisen between them their positions are argued before a properly constituted authority, and the decision arrived at is accepted by the communities as binding on

both. These authorities are able to enforce their judgment because they represent the moral strength of the public conscience. And what is required to complete the reign of reason and moral suasion is the universal recognition of a representative court of law, whose decisions will be binding upon all nations when disputes arise. The only alternatives to this civilized method of international government are the multiplication of secret and sectional alliances, and war.

As Rowell points out, twenty-eight schemes have been put forward from the time of Henry IV. of France to the end of the nineteenth century for the establishment of a League or Society of Nations."[1] Henry IV. proposed to divide Europe into fifteen chief powers upon "an equal basis" to guarantee a permanent balance of power, and to form "a General Council in continuous session to pass laws calculated to cement the union of the States and to maintain order." The plan broke down owing to the antagonism of Spain to give up any of her possessions. The subsequent efforts of writers and monarchs to establish a foundation for perpetual peace have usually been put forth in the midst of a great war, or immediately after the cessation of hostilities, but they have failed in their object mainly from three great causes, viz., the absence of an adequate public opinion, the opposition of one or more of the leading nations, and the defects in the schemes. The world has

[1] The Hon. N. W. Rowell, *The British Empire and World Peace*, p. 24.

never been ready for a comprehensive solution of international conflicts until our own age, but the periodic attempts to create a higher order of human fellowship testify to the unconquerable resolve of the best minds of recent generations to work at the problem. The ghastly and world-wide destruction of human beings in the recent war—a war prosecuted with unprecedented devilry—compelled humanity to construct some rational method for settling future international disputes, and the League of Nations as a part of the Treaty of Versailles is the constitutional recognition of the longings of the peoples of the world. What was previously an ideal has become part of the accepted machinery of the government of the world, and civilization, as long as it retains and develops its moral grip, will not allow it to be destroyed by reactionary interests. It is an initial practical embodiment of the Fourteenth Point in Woodrow Wilson's address to Congress in 1918:

"A general association of nations must be formed under satisfactory covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

Already the League represents more than seventy-five per cent. of the people of the world, and they are bound by agreement to honour its obligations. When Russia, Germany and America become hearty co-operators in the work of the League, the day of lasting peace will probably have dawned.

The practical aims of the League reveal the value of the ethical principles of the New Testament, even when applied in instalments, to the work of beneficent government. The following provisions will indicate its value:

(1) The League provides a means of settling disputes between states by open conference. The statement of their case to the world will go a long way to avoid strife. (2) In the absence of a direct settlement of disputes between the nations concerned, nations have agreed to the submission of all international disputes "either to arbitration or to judicial determination or to conciliation by the Council," and "they will not resort to war until three months after the decision has been rendered or the Council has made its report." (3) The nations in the League undertake to safeguard the land and liberties of each other. (4) A permanent Court of International Justice for the peaceful solution of disputes is recognized. (5) Provision is made for the reduction of national armaments to a reasonable level, and for the frank disclosure of all national military programmes. (6) No treaty between two nations or a group of nations will be considered valid until it is registered with the League and published to the world. (7) Existing arrangements between nations in the League must be brought into harmony with its provisions, and these provisions will govern all future national policy in international affairs.

Its humanitarian programme is full of promise for the future good of the race. Wise provisions

are made for the security and improvements of the toilers. The problems of juvenile and female labour are recognized as matters of international interest, and demand the application of the conscience of the world to their solution. Special provision is made to deal drastically with the opium traffic and the dreadful international trade in women.

Immense good has already been accomplished. Questions which would otherwise have led to war have been amicably settled. The imminent bankruptcy of Austria and Hungary has been averted and their finances placed on a secure and economic basis. The opium traffic is on a fair way to an effective international control, and the white slave traffic has received what may ultimately prove to be fatal blows. Reference was made in an earlier section of this chapter to the terrible industrial conditions under which Asiatic workers have hitherto lived. The work of the International Labour office of the League is effecting striking changes in hours of work and conditions of toil. As a result of representations made to the Persian Government instructions have been issued to the local authorities at Kerman "to enforce an eight-hour day, the prohibition of employment of boys and girls under ten, the provision of healthy sites and pure air for factories, and the provision of suitable seats for women and children, to allow work in normal positions. Factory regulations have been promulgated in China fixing a ten-hour day, prohibition of the employment of boys under ten and girls

under twelve, an eight-hour day for boys under seventeen and girls under eighteen." The hours of work in India have been reduced from 72 to 60 a week for adults with a maximum of twelve hours a day. The age of juvenile employment now begins at twelve instead of nine, and no child must work more than six hours per day. No child under thirteen will be allowed to work in mines, and steps are being taken to prevent women five years hence from working in them.

If only to-day the Christian people of the nations, who own allegiance to the principles of the Gospel of Christ were sufficiently unified, and in earnest about the working of the League, immense strides could be taken in our generation to secure the triumph of goodwill in international relationships. Especially will the efforts of the servants of Christ everywhere be necessary in order to bring about a general consent to a reasonable disarmament of nations, and a serious reduction must be made before a feeling of reasonable security can exist. No one nation can secure this desirable result. General Smuts, in a memorable speech in London on 23rd October, 1923, uttered a grave warning of the incalculable possibilities of a new race in armaments unless there is a general disposition to abandon the European policy of revenge and suspicion. He said, "If things continue on the present lines this country (i.e., Great Britain) may soon have to start re-arming herself in sheer self-defence. It would be monstrous if her generosity

only resulted in placing her rivals in a more favourable position for purposes of aggression. This people should not be called upon to pay for Continental militarism. The Peace was based on the idea of disarmament, and the Covenant of the League made provision for disarmament. We have shown our good faith by disarming almost below the safety limit. Let there be good faith all round, and let both America and Britain use their position as creditors in order to promote this policy of disarmament, which is so essential to the welfare of Europe and the peace of the world." It must be patent to every observer of world events that there is no hope for human society except in the application of Christian ethics to every branch of human activity, and to the international relationships of nations.

The present status and value of the several nations seem to point to the conclusion that Britain and America hold the key for some generations to come to the solution of the pressing problems of the race. The most urgent and baffling question of "international politics appears to be the racial one." The Roman Empire disappeared because it proved unfaithful to the moral task of harmonizing East and West. America and ourselves are confronted with this mission in the twentieth century. "If the British Commonwealth can solve the problem of co-operation between East and West, can bridge the gulf that racial difference creates and racial prejudices would tend to widen, she will have rendered one of the greatest services to the

human race and one of her largest contributions to the peace and progress of all mankind."[1]

The British Empire is the supreme triumph of ordered government in the world.

"The essence of the British system is the free development of natural tendencies, and the encouragement of variety of types; and the future towards which the Empire seems to be tending is not that of a highly centralized and unified state, but that of a brotherhood of free nations, united by community of ideas and institutions, co-operating for common ends, and above all for the common defence in case of need, but each freely following the natural trend of its own development.

"That is the conception of empire, unlike any other ever entertained by men upon this planet, which was already shaping itself among the British communities when the terrible ordeal of the Great War came to test it, and to prove as not even the staunchest believer could have anticipated, that it was capable of standing the severest trial which men or institutions have ever had to undergo."[2]

The British Empire is the centre of a league of nations. Britain is entrusted with the education and liberalizing of India. Over 300 millions of people in India, "speaking 118 different languages with no common language of communication but English," must be led into the path of ethical

[1] The Hon. N. W. Rowell, *The British Empire and World Peace*, p. 149.

[2] Ramsay Muir, *The Expansion of Europe*, p. 233.

progress and world fellowship under our direction. It is the mightiest problem and task which a Western civilization has yet faced, and its successful accomplishment will strengthen the case for the value of public law in world affairs. Britain, too, has a special responsibility for the Moslem world. Whilst herself on the side of the Christian religion, as far as nations can yet be said to be, one-half of the Moslem peoples comes within the control of the Empire. In actual possession and mandatory functions Britain is committed to the mission of the development of a substantial portion of Africa. Her now historic association with Japan is a favourable augury of future relationships.

America has built up a series of states within a system of beneficent international oversight, and is the epitomized home of all the peoples of the world. America has worked out on a smaller scale the problem of world fellowship in the larger sense as it must be tackled by all nations. Uncle Sam is doing for the nations, on his own soil, what Britain is attempting to do on five continents. The mission of these two great Western Powers supplements each other. The problem of world leadership is really theirs. Their common tradition and common love of liberty, their inherent dislike of wanton bloodshed, their progressive democracies, and their agreement as to the need of a stable, tolerant and ethical peace in the world amply qualify them to be the leaders of the new world whose foundations are being surely laid amid the blinding storms and fogs of cynics and mischief makers. Britain and

America must stand shoulder to shoulder in the emancipation of the race.

It is up to the Christian churches in both nations to moralize and purify the people, and to create the prophets and leaders in both. The churches must not be the parrots of dying traditions or the patron of political shibboleths whose message is exhausted. They must be courageous, and support the leaders who are inspired by the ideals of the kingdom of God. They must be more concerned about the supremacy of spiritual and moral ideals than about anything else. In this way these nations may be the responsible and sacrificial servants of God for the realisation of His holy purpose in the human race.

INDEX.

Acton, Lord. 159.
Acts. 105.
  chapters. 10, 17.
Africa. 88, 131, 168, 189, 208, 209, 211, 219, 233.
  races. 129.
  women. 223.
  for Africans. 202.
  South. 23, 138, 200, 208, 219.
  North. 203.
Aggrey, Dr. 200.
Altruism. 8, 155.
Alexander. 62, 150.
Alexander, A. B. D. 91, 93, 110.
Allegret, M. 202.
America. 4, 36, 85, 131, 137, 138, 139, 173, 175, 176, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 205, 206, 218, 221, 227, 231, 233, 234.
  financiers. 208.
  nation. 128.
  North. 209.
  peoples. 218.
  Protestantism. 219.
  races. 129.
  Republic. 128.
  South. 131, 203, 209.
Amos. 49, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58.
  chapters. 3, 4, 6, 9.
Angell, Norman. 177.
Angus, Dr. S. 89, 96.
Antiochus Epiphanes. 69.
Apocrypha. 79.
Arabia. 203.
Aristotle. 159.
Asia. 4, 129, 150, 202, 205, 208, 209, 221.
  history. 202.
  races. 129, 213.
  supreme need. 223.
  workers. 229.
Assyria. 52, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65.
Augustine. 121.
Australia. 201, 209, 219.
Authority. 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 21, 71, 135, 157.
Beloch. 96.
Benson, A. C. 34.
Bergson. 113.
Bernstein, E. 160.
Beyschlag. 106.
Birkenhead, Lord. 193, 194, 195.
Bismarck. 134, 158, 176, 181, 182.
Blair. 96.
Booth, General. 184.
Bradley. 157.
Briggs, C. A. and E. G. 24.
Bright. 137.
Britain. 138, 139, 147, 155, 172, 173, 201, 219, 231.
British Empire. 89, 126, 138, 202, 232.
  communities. 231.
  financiers. 208.
  ships. 208.
  suburban house. 208.
  system. 231.
Brotherhood. 10, 29.
Browning. 3, 199, 216.
Bryce. 161.
Buddhism. 89, 119, 153.
Burney. 205.

Cæsar. 71, 97.
Calvin. 126.
Carlyle. 51.
Carpenter. 3.
Carpentier. 213.
Celsus. 77.
Chesterton. 216.
China. 4, 166, 201, 210, 214, 220.
  factory legislation. 229.
Chinese girls. 90.
  stability. 189.
Cicero. 98.
Claudius. 96.
Cobden. 137.
Constantine. 120, 127.
Corinthians, I. 109.
Coué, Emile. 183.
Creighton. 128.
Cyrus. 61.

Dale, R. W. 77.
Daniel. 69.
  chapter. 7.
Dante. 8, 123, 133.
Dark, Sidney. 123, 131.
Darwin. 139.
Decalogue. 50.
Deism. 126.
de Valera. 9.
Deuteronomic contribution. 51.
Dougall. 79, 86.
Draco, laws of. 172.
Driver. 42.
Dumas. 2.

Egypt. 44, 45, 46, 47, 54, 60, 62, 63, 65, 76, 181, 198, 203.
  autocracy. 45.
  bazaar. 180.
  practice and belief. 45.
  religion. 118.
Emmet. 79, 86.
England. 134, 154, 155, 162, 204, 206, 218, 219.
Erasmus. 188.
Eschatology. 70, 71, 72.
Ethics. 8, 19, 25, 29, 30, 36, 39, 117.
  Apostolic. 184.
  Christian. 82, 83, 86, 102, 105, 127, 144, 155, 158, 167, 169, 170, 212, 231.
  Christological. 121, 184.
  elementary. 48.
  national. 145.
Eucken. 3.
Eugenics. 164, 165
European. 148.
  churches. 129.
  civilization. 162.
  consciousness 146.
  countries. 166.
  nations. 208.
  peace. 195.
  peoples. 150, 154.
  policy of revenge. 230.
  Protestantism. 219.
  side. 205.
Evangelical Revival. 22.
Evolution. 27, 32, 102.
Ezekiel. 61.
  chapter. 13.

Fairbairn. 9, 25, 29, 78, 165.
Findlay. 100.
Foakes, Jackson. 79.
Forsyth. 32, 33, 188.
France. 132, 175, 197, 202, 205.
Frederick the Great. 176.
French Revolution. 10, 132.

Gairdner, W. H. T. 152.
Galatians, chapter. 6.
Galloway. 12.
Galsworthy. 34.
Genesis. 41.
  chapters. 12, 50.
Germany. 133, 141, 166, 181, 205, 227.
  ancestry. 134.
  autocracy. 145.
  breed. 134.
  genius. 134.
  interpreter. 135.
  nation. 136, 182.
Ghandi. 189, 203.
Gibbon. 96.
Gladstone. 137.
Glover. 38, 74, 77, 94, 118, 159, 218.
Græco-Roman. 96, 106.
Gray, G. B. 57.
Greece. 89, 96, 123, 197.
Greek City States. 74, 119.
  women. 89.
  legends. 149.
  minds. 40.
  specialization. 40.
  thoughts. 40.
  treasures. 122.
  world. 118.
Greenwell, Dora. 30.
Gustafson, Axel. 172.

Harnack 134, 184.
Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible. 40.
Hach. 120.
Hegel. 2, 157
Heine, Heinrich. 23.
Henley. 18.
Henry the Eighth. 127.
Henry the Fourth of France. 226.
Hindu. 88, 222, 224.
  morality. 221.
  thought. 224.
  women. 221.
Hobhouse. 156.
Hobson. 7.
Hohenzollerns. 150.
Horton, Dr. R. F. 22.
Hosea. 46, 55, 56, 57, 58.
  chapter. 11.
Hughes, H. Maldwyn. 88.
Huss. 126.

India. 148, 181, 189, 203, 211, 220, 232.
  Code of Manu. 166.
  hours of work. 230.
  problem. 222.
  supreme need. 223.

Indian children. 36.
Christian. 219.
church. 222.
Ocean. 209.
Red. 135.
widows. 36.
Inge. 74.
Internationalism. 13, 44, 78, 81, 85, 105, 116, 145, 150, 156, 183, 192, 196, 199, 209.
International Justice, Court. 198, 229.
Labour Office. 229.
Review of Missions. 213, 221.
Ireland. 149.
Isaiah. 57-61, 62, 66, 72, 95.
age. 65.
faith. 62, 65.
inviolability of Zion. 66.
mind. 63.
place. 57.
vision. 58, 59.
Israel. 39, 48, 50, 52, 53, 61, 99
children of. 54.
emergence. 50.
history. 38, 46
Holy One. 59.
house. 67.
judges. 47.
leaders. 48.
religion. 21.
removal. 66.
sins. 56.

James, Epistle. 123.
James, Prof. W. 12.
Japan. 166-233.
Japanese. 148, 213.
business man. 213.
Christian. 212
immigration. 201.
influence. 189.
people. 201.
scholar. 212.
toilers. 208.
type. 148.
Jeremiah. 40, 66-68, 72.
chapters. 4, 5, 16, 31.
Jerome. 126.
Job. 68.
John the Baptist. 27, 28.
John. 115.
chapter. 3.
exile. 115.
Jonah. 69.
chapter. 4.

Kidd. 15, 181, 182.
Kitchener. 138.

League of Nations. 63-228.
Le Maistre. 96.
Lincoln. 17.
Lodge, Sir Oliver. 192.
Lofthouse. 167.
Lucas, Bernard. 223, 224.
Luke. 90-95.
chapters. 4, 12, 14, 23.
Luther. 123-127, 184, 189.

Macchiavelli. 2, 123.
Mahan, Admiral. 176.
Mark. 90.
chapter. 3.
Materialism. 3.
Matthews, Basil. 152, 200, 202, 211.
Matthew. 80-99.
chapters. 6, 8, 13, 16, 22, 25, 26.
Mazzini. 8 133, 146, 159.
Mecca. 203.
Medina. 203.
Mediwaka. H. D. 219.
Methodism. 126.
Metternich. 133.
Mill. 9.
"Mill on the Floss." 34.
Milton. 80.
Mohammedanism. 89, 145, 152, 204, 222.
Monroe doctrine. 198.
Morley. 9, 146, 158.
Morris. 6.
Morrison. 4.
Moslem peoples. 233.
world. 204, 233.
Moses. 44-50.
Muir, Ramsay. 128, 135, 146, 155.
Mussolini. 158.

Napoleon. 9, 132, 150.
Nationalism. 13, 31, 39, 44, 48, 85, 124, 144, 156, 199.
Nationality. 42-196.
history. 41.
triumph. 48.
Nietzsche. 2, 135.

Owen, Robert. 179.

Pasha, Mustapha Kemal. 204.
Paul. 35, 42, 70, 105, 109-112, 114, 209, 222.
Peake. 23, 47.
Picton-Turberville, E. 75.
Pilgrim Fathers. 15.
Pfleiderer. 7.
Philippian letter. 114.
Plato. 6, 41, 73, 77, 119.
Polytheism. 49.
Pontius Pilate. 71.

Pragmatism. 12, 34.
Protestantism. 29, 117, 125, 218, 219.

Racialism. 3, 16, 30, 133.
Rauschenbusch. 111.
Reformation. 22, 123-128, 134, 154, 188.
Renaissance. 123.
Revelation of St. John. 116.
  chapter. 21.
Ritschl. 27.
Roman. Holy Roman Empire. 121.
  Holy Catholic Church. 121.
  Catholicism. 23, 29, 117, 157.
  authority. 71.
  army. 99.
  contempt. 98.
  church. 124.
  domination. 82.
  Empire. 71, 75, 97, 231.
  governors. 71.
  jurisprudence. 135.
  pretensions. 127.
  rulers. 120.
  women. 89.
  world. 119, 120.
Romans, Epistle. 65, 114.
  chapters. 7, 8, 12.
Rome. 62 172.
  Church. 166.
Roberts, Richard. 139, 165.
Rousseau. 123.
Rowell. 135, 226, 230.
Ruskin. 197.
Russia. 141, 146, 188, 190, 193, 205, 227.
  Empire. 202.
  Revolution. 171.

Saito, Soichi. 212, 213.
Samuel. 50.
Savonarola. 8, 12, 126, 133.
Schweitzer. 169.
Seneca. 89, 98, 172.
Shaftesbury, Lord. 36.
Smith, Dr. G. A. 76, 94.
Stoics. 119.
Snowden, P. 172.
State. 97 135.
  alliance. 204.
  government. 205.
  head. 134.
  ideal. 134.
  modern. 165.
  morality. 134.
  pittance. 207.
  recognition. 120.
  religion. 120.
  strong. 135.

Talmud. 77.
Tennyson. 13, 26.
Thessalonian letters. 108.
Tolstoi. 159.
Treitschke. 134, 136.
Tyre. 62.

Utilitarianism. 8.
Uzziah. 58.

Voltaire. 9.

Wallace. 139.
Wells, H. G. 4, 6, 13-22, 73, 151.
Wendt. 82.
Wernle. 111.
Wesley, Charles. 154.
  John. 154, 184.
Williams, John. 211.
Wilson, Dr. Woodrow. 192, 227.
Wordsworth. 11.
Wyclif. 162, 184.

Zumpt. 96.

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